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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Livestock in the Brehon Laws
by J. O'LOAN

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by REGINALD LENNARD

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CONTENTS

Livestock in the Brehon Laws	J. O'Loan	page 65
Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England	Reginald Lennard	75
Enclosure in Kesteven	Dennis R. Mills	82
Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825	H. G. Hunt	98
Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Devon	Duncan Mitchell	108
Work in Progress	Joan Thirsk	110
Reviews:		
<i>Peasant Society and Culture</i> , by Robert Redfield	E. E. Evans	121
<i>Medieval England</i> , ed. A. L. Poole	H. P. R. Finberg	121
<i>The New Cambridge Modern History</i> . Vol. II: The Reformation, ed. G. R. Elton	E. A. L. Moir	122
<i>The Royal Forest of Lancaster</i> , by R. Cunliffe Shaw	Joan Thirsk	123
<i>Valley on the March. A History of a Group of Manors on the Herefordshire March of Wales</i> , by Lord Rennell of Rodd	R. H. Hilton	124
<i>Customs of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury</i> , ed. B. C. Redwood and A. E. Wilson	F. R. H. Du Boulay	125
<i>The Country Craftsman: A Study of some Rural Crafts and the Rural Industries Organization in England</i> , by W. M. Williams	W. G. Hoskins	127
<i>Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise and the Formal Garden</i> , by David Green	J. W. Y. Higgs	128
Notes and Comments		74, 97
Notes on Contributors		81

Livestock in the Brehon Laws

By J. O'LOAN

IN his conquest of Gaul (58-50 B.C.) Caesar liquidated most of the Celtic civilizations of western Europe, apart from those in Britain and Ireland. If the Celtic kingdoms of the continental mainland had any literature at the time of their downfall it perished then, and so the literary history of Celtic western Europe is almost exclusively dependent on surviving Irish documents. Considering the vicissitudes through which the majority of these passed, it is amazing that so many have survived. As a source of historical information, the most important, and in fact in its original source the earliest, body of this literature to survive is the Brehon Law tracts. A concise explanation of what these tracts are in nature and origin is given as follows by our best known authority, Dr D. A. Binchy.—

"For centuries this ancient lore (Old Irish Law Tracts) was preserved orally in the native professional schools. Then in the seventh century—or perhaps even in the sixth—doubtless under the influence of the Christian monastic schools, it was committed to writing, and finally about the beginning of the eighth century it was embodied in a series of canonical texts which were henceforward regarded as sacrosanct and immutable, capable of being interpreted by later jurists but not of being altered. The pattern of society outlined in these ancient tracts goes back far beyond the eighth century—indeed to pre-Christian times, for though the Irish Laws . . . have a Christian façade their basic structure is pagan."¹

The content of Brehon Law is as varied as the life of the people, and ranges from law of the person to the regulation of almost trivial details of farming. In this latter context Brehon Law constitutes an agricultural literature which is almost, if not quite, unique so far as western Europe is concerned, and nothing comparable with it in descriptive detail was produced in this country until the mid-eighteenth century. While some parts of the Laws may be regarded as theorizing or fanciful, the material which follows here indicates that far from being abstract, much of it is practical, down-to-earth farming detail, the accuracy of which is becoming more apparent with the development of scientific farming knowledge. That the period which produced the Laws was also one of enlightened farming is therefore an obvious inference.

In arriving at these conclusions one is tempted to speculate on such questions as whether a contemporary, comparable period did not exist in

¹ D. A. Binchy, *Early Irish Society*, ed. Dillon, Dublin, 1954, p. 53.

Celtic Gaul or Celtic Britain. Was Caesar attracted to those countries by the existence of a rude populace or by a people proficient in the production of wealth from the soil, but not his equals in the art of war? Did he create such havoc as to prevent the development there of a body of social and farming literature comparable to the Brehon Laws? Do the Laws of Ine tend to confirm this speculation? Must it not be accepted that the attraction for Caesar, as for the Norse and Normans centuries later, was farming wealth being produced by a people whose military defences were vulnerable?

The style and manner in which much of the Laws are expressed is primitive in that the scribe presumes in his reader an acquaintance with the circumstances and matters he treats of almost equal to his own. Unfortunately our acquaintance with the circumstances is no longer close, nor is there much analogous contemporary material to assist in elucidating the picture. After the collapse of the Celtic political system (1603), the old manuscript copies of the Brehon Laws were hawked around for nearly two centuries, but eventually found their way into safe keeping. A little over a century ago (1852) a commission was set up to undertake the work of transcription and translation. This task devolved mainly on two Celtic scholars, John O'Donovan and Eugene O'Curry, neither of whom lived to see the work completed; but completed it was eventually, though, in consequence of the undeveloped state of Celtic philology at the time, imperfectly. None the less, a great work was performed which has preserved for future generations a literary basis for Irish history of which other countries would possibly have made better use. The entire work is included in five volumes, with a sixth for glossary. Text and glosses and translations cover a total of over 2,000 quarto pages. Since the first publication, corrected transcriptions and translations have been prepared of some sections, mainly by Dr Binchy and the late Professors McNeill and Thurneysen. (The latter's translations are into German.) This work is still in progress.

The material in the Laws is composed of two sections, the text, or original immutable part, which may be dated as seventh-century or earlier, and the glosses, which may be roughly eighth- to fifteenth-century though most are eleventh- to twelfth-century. The extracts quoted here are from the text except where otherwise indicated, and consequently reflect data and facts as at a period perhaps little less than two thousand years ago. The matters dealt with in this paper are merely a sample of the wealth of farming history which the laws contain.

In the physical characters of livestock mentioned in Brehon Law or deducible from the details given we are provided with textual descriptions of animals for a period for which agricultural historians in neighbouring

countries have to depend on the evidence of skeletal specimens discovered by archaeological excavation.

COWS

Under the law of distress or distraint (Athgabail), "three white cows were taken by Asal from Mogh son of Nuadhat by an immediate seizure; and they lay down a night at Ferta [=Slane, Co. Meath] on the Boyne; they escaped from him; they had left their calves and their white milk flowed upon the ground. He went in pursuit of them and seized six milch cows at the house at day-break. . . .

"The cow land (Tir-ba) of Conn Cedorach from which these horned cows were taken had been given to Fergus. . . ."¹

Two physical features of these cows are mentioned, the colour and the horns. The specification of colour indicates by inference that cattle colours other than white existed and presumably were so common that they might as readily have been seized as the three white cows. The mention of the fact that the cows were horned implies that polled cattle were known: such physical features as are possessed by all cattle, e.g. tails and ears, are not mentioned. It is probably significant also that the colour of the six cows is not mentioned.

The particular reference to the white milk flowing on to the ground suggests, though it does not conclusively prove, a plentiful supply of milk, in contrast perhaps with the generally held belief that milking quality in cattle is of modern origin.

This seizure was by no means a marauding expedition, but, as indicated, a legal seizure under the law of distraint. Under this law it was not permissible to seize goods in excess of the value of the damage claimed. This may possibly suggest a premium on the value of white cows, as three of them evidently equalled six milch cows of unspecified colour. Premium value may account for the specific mention of the colour, and if this inference is correct it suggests specialized breeding. That this kind of specialization did in fact prevail in the eighth or early ninth century is indicated by the first recension about that period of the *Tain Bo*, the prose saga describing the Great Cattle Raid of Cooley.

The evidence contained in the seizure recorded here would lend support to the belief that the *Tain Bo*, as well as being a great literary epic, has its foundation in fact which antedates recorded history.

The gloss to this quotation makes Mogh Nuadhat a contemporary of Conn of the Hundred Battles. In legend Mogh Nuadhat was Conn's rival for high kingship. Their period is placed in the second century A.D.²

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, I, Dublin, 1861, p. 65.

² Hayden & Moonan, *A Short History of the Irish People*, London, 1927, p. 14.

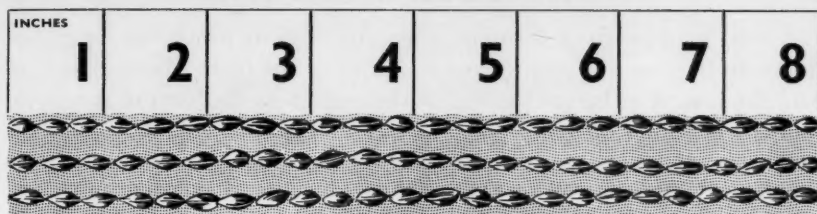
A system of livestock farming (Cain Aigillne) in which the farmer or stockman borrowed livestock from the Chief of the tuath (district) and repaid the loan at or before the end of three years in the form of similar or comparable animals is treated of in the Laws. (A practice still operated in the south-western dairying district before the last war; the dairy herd was leased to an operator who got the calves for his work, the owner of the herd and land getting the value of the milk delivered to the creamery. This, if not a survival of Cain Aigillne, is much akin to it.)

Under Cain Aigillne various animals are specified as suitable for repayment, and to prevent dispute as to quality, the type of animal is described in some detail. A cow is to be "twenty fists in girth whose fat is one third of it."¹ This dimension can be translated with sufficient accuracy for comparison with present-day cattle. Considerable effort was evidently made under the Laws to standardize measurement. The length of three barley grains was an inch or finger breadth. Four inches or finger breadths were a hand or fist, and three hands or fists a foot.² Also two hands or fists with the thumbs extended were a foot. As hands, fists, and feet would admit of considerable variations, depending on the individual, "the legitimate hand which is used for estimating and measuring" is prescribed and the term "lawful measure" is so emphasized as to leave no doubt of the care taken (II, p. 247). It is not apparent how the "legitimate hand" was determined, but it is not taxing credulity to assume that in case of doubt or serious dispute the barley grains were referred to.

It may be contended that barley grains of the period under discussion had only a tenuous connection with grain of modern times and that no justifiable conclusions can be based on present-day grain. It has been found instructive, if not something of a revelation, to place barley grains end to end in a row and measure their lengths. The first feature to note is the almost uncanny uniformity in grain length in an ordinary sample, and the second is the accuracy of three grains to the inch. Fig. I shows the first 72 barley grains poured from a completely random sample and placed in random order in three lines of 24 grains each. The total length of eight inches per line and the uniformity of three grains to an inch are remarkable. The available evidence indicates little or no change in the stature of our people over the past two thousand years, and a normal hand is still four inches. Inferentially, therefore, barley grain has altered little or nothing in this period. Nor is it rash to assume that in choosing barley grains to determine length, grains of normal size would have been selected.

¹ *Ancient Laws of Ireland*, II, Dublin, 1869, p. 249.

² *Ibid.*, III, Dublin, 1873, p. 335.

FIG. I (*reduced*).

The hand was of course the standard of measure in many ancient civilizations, and in the present period of change from equine to mechanical traction it may not be out of place to record that most farmers in the past (and many still) could estimate the height of horses in hands with commendable accuracy. Having regard therefore to the emphasis laid on measurements in Brehon Law and to the history of measures generally, it would probably be very wrong to assume that the Brehon measurements were haphazard or only approximate.

It is to be presumed that the 20-hand measurement specified was the minimum cow ordinarily acceptable as repayment, and therefore a good cow rather than one of such unusual quality as would constitute difficulty in payment. It would seem a reasonable inference that cattle size at the period in question differed little from present-day stock. This deduction may be in some contrast to general opinion about livestock for the period in question. It is not improbable that the 20-hand girth stipulation applied particularly to cattle of the central plain and other fertile pasture lands, and that in the hill areas smaller cattle prevailed as at present, and were acceptable as rent.

A cow's girth is not of course a reliable guide to her weight even within particular breeds. The relationship of girth to weight or size would also be influenced by the condition of the animal at any particular time. A considerable number of measurements of Ayrshires in full milk and in average farm condition suggests that relatively few cows of this breed reach a girth of twenty hands.

The following measurements and particulars of cows exhibited at the Royal Dublin Society's Spring Show in May 1958 may be taken as a fair indication of the girth-weight relationship:

- | | |
|--|------------|
| (1) Friesian 1st calf heifer <i>c.</i> 7½ cwt, 72 inches girth | = 18 hands |
| (2) Friesian cow <i>c.</i> 11 cwt, 80 inches girth | = 20 hands |
| (3) Friesian cow <i>c.</i> 12 cwt, 76 inches girth | = 19 hands |

(4) Friesian cow <i>c.</i> 13 cwt, 80½ inches girth	= 20½ hands
(5) Hereford big aged cow, 88 inches girth	= 22 hands
(6) Aberdeen Angus young cow <i>c.</i> 10 cwt, 73½ inches girth	= 18¾ hands
(7) Aberdeen Angus young cow <i>c.</i> 8 cwt, 71 inches girth	= 17¾ hands
(8) Kerry big cow, 76 inches girth	= 19 hands
(9) Dairy Shorthorn cow <i>c.</i> 13 cwt, 84 inches girth	= 21 hands

All these beasts were in show condition. No. 8 was the biggest Kerry in the Show, and her girth suggests that few animals of this breed would make 20 hands' girth. No. 9 won the first prize in her class.

The general inference therefore is that a cow of twenty hands' girth is a biggish animal in any of our modern breeds.

Part of the fee of fosterage was a cow "which on being milked into a twelve-inch vessel fills it" (gloss, II, p. 177). Unfortunately only one dimension, probably the diameter, of this vessel is given, but the text continues: "It takes the materials for three cakes of man's baking or six of woman's baking to fill the vessel." A cake of woman's baking was two fists broad and a fist thick (II, p. 255). The dough for six such cakes baked from whole wheat meal would have a volume of *c.* 9 quarts, while a vessel 12 inches diameter, 6 inches deep, and slightly tub-shaped, would give the same volume. A cow in full milk giving nine quarts at a milking would under modern conditions yield about 800 gallons per lactation. The basis for this estimate is unfortunately anything but exact, but the desire has been to depress rather than magnify the figure. This, together with the fact that while they contain many obvious mistakes due usually to transcription, the laws generally indicate little or no tendency to magnify unduly, suggests that cows were flush of milk, and is in keeping with the observation of the white milk flowing from Mogh's cows when seized and driven a distance. In this context may also be mentioned that under Brehon Law the highest unit of value was "the great milch cow" worth 24 screpals of silver.

The stipulation of one-third fat in the cow is of considerable interest. This can obviously apply only to the carcase of the beast after slaughter.

In a detailed investigation conducted at Cambridge University School of Agriculture with cattle of varying degrees of fatness, to assess, *inter alia*, the palatability of the meat, the highest award given by a panel of trained meat tasters was to an animal in which the fat was 28 per cent of the carcase and 33½ per cent of the particular joint cooked for tasting. The report says, "Tasting tests revealed that there is a close connection between the fatness of a joint and its palatability when roasted. Up to the point at which rather more than one-third of the joint is fatty tissue the palatability is en-

hanced as fatness increases. Beyond this point the palatability diminishes."¹

The result of this investigation into a matter hitherto but poorly understood, but of considerable practical importance, renders the Brehon Law stipulation, to say the least of it, remarkable. It is also convincing evidence that the ancient system of measurement was anything but haphazard. It suggests also a knowledge of livestock generally associated only with modern times.

YOUNG STOCK

Repayment under Cain Aigillne could also be made in the form of young stock. "A calf value a sack (of wheat), eight hands in girth, healthy after castration, grazed with the milking cows (or with the milch cows on grass), with only the space of three fingers between his two loins and his kidneys, not killed by 'fairy-plague' (kidney disease, gloss) but slaughtered as it was intended to be by the breeder . . ." (II, p. 239).

"A calf value two sacks, sound after castration, also grazed with the milch cows from the beginning of the summer till it is exhibited to the chief (to whom the merit is due); ten hands its girth, its loins cover its kidneys as before, sound, of good body, well formed, well grazed . . ." (II, p. 245).

"A calf of the value of three sacks, twelve hands its girth, sound equally as before, grazed with the milking cows from the beginning of the summer until it is presented to the chief in the winter time, to be presented lawfully together with its measurements and estimations and with proper assurances . . ." (II, p. 249).

"A calf of the value of four sacks, a male stirk, 14 hands the lawful measurement of its girth, which has remained healthy till it became a yearling bull (*do erna slan ina Dartadas*), its two loins cover its kidneys, grazed with the milch cows till exhibited, free from injury or disease . . ." (II, p. 253).

"A calf of the value of a sack to be roasted in summer and a calf value four sacks to be boiled in summer."

The first three girth measurements of eight, ten, and twelve hands obviously apply to calves in their first season. The calf of the value of a sack to be roasted in summer would be little more than a veal calf, as calving was presumably timed to coincide with spring grass. The twelve-hand-girth animal was shown in winter and so presumably between six and nine months old.

The fourteen-hand-girth is of a young bull in his second summer and presumably towards the end of summer (he is to be boiled in summer), when he had grazed the season with the milch cows, and therefore approaching eighteen months old.

The space of three fingers behind the ribs is interesting. This is the

¹ E. H. Callow in *Journal of Agricultural Science*, XXXIV, 1944, p. 177.

measure still applied by the ordinary cattle jobber buying on the hoof—evidently a time-honoured test.

These measurements refer to cattle of substantial size and definitely not to smaller dairy breeds such as present-day Kerrys or Jerseys. As already mentioned, the dimensions quoted are all from the text and therefore relate to the early centuries of the Christian era or perhaps even earlier.

PIGS

Pigs were also legal tender. "A (pig's) belly worth a sack, nine fists its length, a fist with the thumb extended is the width (between the fore legs) of the front fork, and a fist the width of its hind fork, three fists its breadth in the middle, and three fingers its average thickness." (II, p. 239.)

"A flitch the fat and lean measuring two fingers each . . . two fingers from the lean to the cut in back, two fists of thin and two fists of thick, eight fists its length and four fists its width, from a two- to a three-year-old pig." (II, p. 247.)

The gloss refers to a two-year-old pig as a pig of two litters and a three-year-old pig as a pig of three litters. This might suggest that hogs were slaughtered at a moderately early age. Although forest pannage was evidently important if not the main food, there is reference to fattening on corn and milk (II, p. 367). The two fists each of thin and thick obviously refer to equal widths of 'streaky' and 'back'.

"A flitch three fingers between its fat and lean, eight fists its length and four fists its breadth, from a two-year-old to a three-year-old." In this case the gloss refers simply to a two-year-old pig as a pig of two years and a three-year-old as a pig of three years (II, p. 249).

"And a flitch three fingers at the base of the hand, for this is the average of all the measurements mentioned hitherto; of the fat and lean, eight fists its length and four fists its breadth." (II, p. 251.)

"And a flitch the thickness of a hand at the base of the fingers—of the hand of the lawful measure—between the fat and lean, eight fists its length and four fists its width." (II, p. 255.)

Apart from the interesting detail of a fist with the thumb extended between the fore legs and a fist between the hind legs, we have thus the following picture:

- (1) A belly 9 hands long 3 hands wide and 3 fingers thick
- (2) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 2 fingers fat and 2 lean
- (3) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 3 fingers thick
- (4) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 3 fingers thick
- (5) A flitch 8 hands long 4 hands wide and 4 fingers thick

The reference to the width of a fist between the hind legs and of a fist with the thumb extended between the fore legs is an interesting anatomical observation. Presumably this measurement was made with the pig on its back at the time of slaughter. We may have succeeded in breeding the fore-end a little narrower but as an approximation it is still not far wrong for a fat pig of 2 cwt live weight.

Unfortunately we cannot know between what points the length of the flitch was measured. In carcase grading as at present operated the measurement is from the indentation of the first rib to the anterior edge of the aitch bone. It is perhaps more than a coincidence that the length of side for the highest grade (AA+) in the English grading system for bacon pigs is 800 mm. (31½ inches) as compared with 8 hands (32 inches) required in Brehon Law.¹ The fact that the belly was a hand longer than the side is some guide on this point.

The four hands' breadth is normal for a high-grade pig of about two cwt live weight.

In the rather complicated code of compensation dealt with in the Book of Aicle (one of the oldest sections of Brehon Law) the amounts payable are specified for the young pigs of a litter up to nine pigs with the proviso "if it be certain the sow would have had milk for them." (III, p. 373.) This suggests that while the sow might produce more at farrowing, nine was the maximum number normally expected to be reared. An average of nine per litter is still good farming. On the same page there is reference to "the litter of the year" (*al na bliadhna*) suggesting that normally one litter was expected. This agrees with the purport of the gloss referred to above regarding two- and three-year-old pigs.

HORSES

It is much to be regretted that the one measurement of a farm animal still reckoned in hands is not mentioned in Brehon Law. Practically all that is indicated in the various references to horses is that there were working horses, regarded as of only moderate value, and valuable animals, presumably saddle horses, which if borrowed might not be worked under penalty.

While it would appear reasonable to conclude from the material quoted that farm stock in Ireland in the early centuries of the Christian era resembled that of modern times much more closely than is generally assumed, what is also clear and equally interesting is the ancient stockman's awareness of quality and what constituted it in a beast. A pig was not just a pig, it was a pig with length and depth and a proper proportion of fat and lean. A young

¹ Fatstock Guarantee Scheme 1958-59 (HMSO), p. 25 (Scot. & N.I.).

beast had to be sound, of good body, and well formed; a beef-cow carcass should be one-third fat.

Thurneysen's translation of "Cain Aigillne" and notes thereon in *Zeitschrift für Keltische Philologie*, Vols. 14, 15, and 16, and Binchy's vocabulary and legal glossary to *Crith Gablach* have been used for any necessary corrections of the original translations.

I am indebted to Dr Binchy for reading this article and discussing various points.

Notes and Comments

THE BRITISH AGRICULTURAL HISTORY SOCIETY

The Annual Conference this year took the form of a Joint Conference with the Economic History Society at Wye College in Kent on the subject of Agriculture and Rural Life. One hundred and four members of the two societies attended the Conference, which lasted from Friday, 10 April, until Monday, 13 April 1959. The proceedings opened on the Friday evening with a paper by Professor E. M. Carus-Wilson on English Industrial Villages in the Later Middle Ages. On Saturday morning papers were read by Dr Joan Thirsk on Tudor Enclosures and Mr G. P. Askew on The Development of the Romney Marsh Landscape. In the afternoon there were alternative excursions to Romney Marsh and Canterbury. In the evening the Vice-Principal of Wye College entertained the Conference to sherry and this was followed by Mr Colin Clark speaking on The Growth of the World's Agricultural Productivity. The two papers on Sunday morning were by Dr G. E. Mingay on The Changing Size of Farms in the Eighteenth Century and Mr Edwin Attwood on The Development of State Support for Agriculture. In the afternoon members of the Conference took part in a tour of the Wye College farms. In the evening the formal business of the Conference was concluded with a paper by Mr T. W. Fletcher

on The Great Depression of English Agriculture, 1873-96.

The chair at the Annual General Meeting on the Sunday morning was taken by the Chairman of the Executive Committee, Mr George Ordish. Sir Keith Murray was elected President in place of Sir James Scott Watson, who retired after holding the office since the foundation of the Society. Mr G. E. Fussell paid tribute to Sir James's work for the Society and expressed the Society's pleasure at obtaining so distinguished a successor. The other officers were re-elected and Mr G. B. Bisset, Dr W. H. Chaloner, and Dr W. G. Hoskins were elected to fill the places on the Executive Committee vacated by Mr Victor Bonham-Carter, Mr George Houston, and Mr W. Harwood Long.

Mr George Ordish in presenting the report of the Executive Committee explained that membership had risen from 516 at the last Annual General Meeting to 559. He also expressed the Society's satisfaction at the success of the Joint Conference.

In presenting the Treasurer's Report, Professor Thomas expressed himself satisfied with the financial situation. The balance brought forward was £229 as opposed to £224 the previous year, despite the fact that printing, stationery, and postage costs had all risen.

At a meeting of the Executive Committee

(continued on page 97)

Statistics of Sheep in Medieval England

A QUESTION OF INTERPRETATION

By REGINALD LENNARD

IT has recently been maintained that computation by the 'great' or 'long' hundred of six score was "the prevailing usage in sheep-farming accounts" in medieval England and that even the numbers of sheep in the early twelfth-century surveys of the Gloucestershire manors of the Abbaye-aux-Dames ought to be interpreted in that sense.¹ Since this contention, if correct, would profoundly affect the statistics of medieval sheep-farming, an examination of evidence bearing upon the matter may be of some use.

Direct evidence from manorial accounts is not very abundant, for the method of computation they employ in this particular can only be determined with certainty if the numbers involved amount to a hundred or more, if they are expressed in 'hundreds' and not merely in scores, and if the arithmetic of addition or subtraction is both accurate and such as to show what a 'hundred' means. Thus in the well-known series of Wellingborough accounts, none of the seventeen thirteenth-century accounts provides data of the required nature for sheep and it is only when we come to the account of 1304 that we find sure proof of the sheep being reckoned by the long hundred.² There are however other sources of information—specific references to the type of hundred employed in lists of stock or grants of pasturage, the re-stocking accounts in the Pipe Rolls, and some valuations in the *Rotuli de Dominabus*—and these sources are available for the twelfth century, whereas the earliest surviving manorial accounts are those preserved in the Pipe Roll of the Bishophric of Winchester for the year 1208-9.

The sources are scattered and in many cases unpublished, and my researches among them have not gone very far; but the facts I have been able to collect seem none the less to justify some fairly definite conclusions.

1. In the first place, eastern England north of the Thames provides undoubted examples of sheep enumerated by the great hundred. In Yorkshire its use is specifically indicated in twelfth- or early thirteenth-century grants of pasturage at Raskelfe and East Bolton in the North Riding and at Bramley,

¹ See the letter from Prof. Postan in the *Times Literary Supplement*, 13 Feb. 1959.

² *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*, ed. F. M. Page, Northants Record Soc., p. 93 (5 score and 10+45+7 score=CCLV, i.e. 295). Some of the earlier accounts show a use of the great hundred in the enumeration of pigeons and, in spite of a slight arithmetical inaccuracy, it is evident it was used for lambs in that of 1298-9.

West Bretton, and Marton in the West Riding.¹ From Lincolnshire there are similar grants relating to Snelland and Wickenby, and an account of the Crowland Abbey grange at Monklode for the year 1258-9 which demonstrably employs the six-score hundred in the enumeration of ewes and lambs.² At Ringstead in Norfolk there were, according to a twelfth-century survey, *ducentae oves per sexcies viginti* in the time of Henry I, and the same method of reckoning was apparently employed for the sheep at Brancaster in that county.³ Perhaps this was also the case at Elsworth in Cambridgeshire, where the puzzling entry *centum oves id est decies viginti* seems to require emendation by reading *sexcies* in place of *decies*.⁴ In Huntingdonshire the valuation *centum oves vel sexaginta solidi* at Hemingford strongly suggests the same conclusion, and at Wellingborough in Northamptonshire, as we have seen, the sheep were numbered in this way in 1304.⁵ At Sandon in Hertfordshire and at *Tidwoldintun* (now Heybridge) in Essex we have clear examples in the so-called Domesday of St Paul's which was compiled in 1222.⁶ There is also some reason for thinking that in the *Rotuli de Dominabus* of 1185 the great hundred was employed for the enumeration of sheep at Aynho (Northants), Hockliffe and Chalgrave (Bedfordshire), Moulsoe and Easington (Bucks.), and Tunstead and Cockley Cley (Norfolk), for at each of these places an addition or deficit of one or more 'hundred' sheep is reckoned to affect the valuation at the rate of £1 per 'hundred', and at Wiveton (Norfolk) and Staverton (Suffolk) the addition of 60 sheep is estimated to increase the value by ten shillings.⁷

2. In the part of England to which the foregoing examples belong usage was certainly not uniform. This might indeed be inferred from the very fact that it was sometimes thought necessary to indicate that a six-score hundred

¹ *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. Farrer and Clay, II, No. 790; IV, No. 92; III, Nos. 1289 and 1791; VII, No. 151.

² Stenton, *Danelaw Charters*, No. 229; *ibid.*, p. xlv, note 1, citing Cott. Vesp. E. XVIII, fo. 124b; F. M. Page, *Estates of Crowland Abbey*, pp. 189-90 (where, in the case of lambs, 8 'hundred' + 4 score = (3 'hundred' + 72 + 8 score + 3 + 20 + 6) = 3 'hundred' and 59).

³ *Ramsey Abbey Cart.*, Rolls Series, III, pp. 266 and 261 (where *decem* must surely be an error for *centum* in the text *decem et viginti octo matres oves per sexcies viginti*).

⁴ *ibid.*, p. 248.

⁵ *ibid.*, p. 241 et *supra*.

⁶ *op. cit.*, Camden Soc., pp. 13, 53 (*cc oves per sexcies viginti* and *duodecies xx oves q' faciunt cc*).

⁷ *op. cit.*, Pipe Roll Soc., pp. 30, 33, 34, 41, 44, 48, 58, and, for Wiveton and Staverton, pp. 55, 64. The 'value' is clearly the value per annum: of Tunstead we read that the custodians *additis c ovibus accreverunt firmam ville de xxs*; cp. Chalgrave, p. 34. Some doubt, however, must be felt about the applicability of the Wiveton-Staverton ratio to the other cases, because the rate in the latter is ostensibly the same as that allowed in *defalta ovium* in Pipe Rolls of the same period, as to which see below.

must be understood.¹ But positive evidence is not lacking. Apart from that of the Pipe Rolls, which will be considered later, we find that at Snainton in the North Riding of Yorkshire pasture is granted *ducentis ovibus scilicet decies viginti*, that the stock at South Walsham in Norfolk includes *ter centum oves ad minus centum*, that the five-score hundred is unmistakably used for the enumeration of the sheep in an agreement about *Edolvesnasa* in Essex.² These three examples are of twelfth-century date; and in the next century one notes that the ordinary hundred was used for four classes of sheep in an account of Berkhamsted in Hertfordshire and for the *multones* (wethers) in the already cited account of Monkclode in Lincolnshire, although that employs the six-score hundred for ewes and lambs.³ Later again, arithmetic reveals the ordinary hundred in accounts of Oakington and Dry Drayton in Cambridgeshire for the year 1322-3, in an account of the East Fen in Lincolnshire for 1350-1, and in one of Forncett in Norfolk for 1378.⁴

3. Outside the east of England I have not come across a single case of sheep computed by the great hundred, and, though the limited extent of my researches prevents one from attaching much weight to this fact, it has some significance in view of the evidence that I have encountered for the alternative usage. The ordinary hundred was evidently employed throughout the Winchester Pipe Roll of 1208-9, which provides arithmetical proof of this for seventeen manors in Hampshire and for Downton and Knoyle in Wiltshire, Taunton in Somerset, Harwell in Berkshire, Witney and Adderbury in Oxfordshire, Farnham in Surrey, and Wycombe in Buckinghamshire.⁵ Other thirteenth-century accounts are similarly informing in regard to Mere in Wiltshire and Banstead in Surrey, while for Acton in Middlesex proof is furnished by two charters of 1229-30, since, in describing the same *instauramentum*, one of them speaks of a hundred sheep and the other of five

¹ Note the emphatic language of the East Bolton charter: *Early Yorkshire Charters*, IV, No. 92. (*Sciendum est autem quod predictae quadringente oves per magnum centum numberabuntur.*)

² *ibid.*, I, No. 616 (1180-90); *Register of St Benet of Holme*, Norfolk Record Soc., No. 148 (1141-9); *Don.esday of St Paul's*, p. 131 (apparently last half of 12th century). In the last case 13 score + 1 + 9 + 80 + 46 = cccc quatuor minus.

³ *Earldom of Cornwall Accounts*, 1296-7, Camden Soc., p. 25; *Estates of Crowland*, p. 190. In the Monkclode case 4 'hundred' and 84 *multones* + 3 + 80 = 5 'hundred' and 67; and a deduction of 48 + 46 + 15 from this total leaves 4 'hundred' and 58. Perhaps in the manuscript a large C = 120 and a small c = 100 as Miss Page suggests in *Wellingborough Manorial Accounts*, p. xxxvii; but no distinction is shown in the printed text.

⁴ *Estates of Crowland*, pp. 251 (ewes), 258 (*multones*); *A Terrier of Fleet*, ed. N. Neilson, p. 182; F. G. Davenport, *Economic Development of a Norfolk Manor*, Appendix IX, p. lix, note.

⁵ *Pipe Roll of the Bishopric of Winchester*, 1208-9 (ed. under supervision of Hubert Hall), *passim*, and, for the places named, pp. 22, 75-6, 71, 16, 19, 59, 40, 34.

score.¹ In the early part of the next century the same story is told by accounts of Combe in Hampshire and Maldon in Surrey.² And, far away from these southern examples, a mid-fourteenth-century bailiff's roll of Coundon in Durham clearly employs the ordinary hundred in its statistics of *multones* and *hoggastri*; but the county of Durham should probably be regarded as belonging to the eastern region of ambiguous usage, for, though I have not seen anything which proves the use of the great hundred for sheep within its bounds, an account of Bishop Middleham (made in the same year as that of Coundon) gives the number of pigeons as CCIX *per minus centum*, which suggests that the five-score hundred could not here be taken for granted.³

4. The most comprehensive evidence comes from the Pipe Rolls. But these contain a trap for the unwary. In some of them there are numerous entries recording sums of money allowed for deficiencies in the stocking of manors. I take these to be deductions made from the *firma* or rent because the full complement of stock was lacking. But however that may be, the point which concerns the problem before us is that again and again the sum allowed in the case of sheep works out at exactly twopence a head for a whole year, if we assume that the great hundred was employed in their enumeration. It would be easy to jump to the conclusion that that was in fact the mode of reckoning. But then side by side with entries of this kind we find others for the purchase of sheep which clearly imply the use of a five-score hundred. For example the Pipe Roll of 1195 records that at Melbourne in Derbyshire 20s. was allowed for a default of a 'hundred' sheep (*pro c ovibus*) which would be twopence a head if C=120; but, in its account of stock purchased for the manor of Wirksworth in the same county, it tells us that 105s. 6d. was paid *pro cc et xi ovibus*, which is just sixpence a head if C=100, and this was the regular price allowed for the purchase of sheep at that time.⁴ The con-

¹ *Earldom of Cornwall Accounts*, p. 67; H. C. M. Lambert, *History of Banstead*, p. 315; *Early Charters of St Paul's*, Camden Soc., Nos. 299 and 300. For Banstead an account for the year 1363-4 also provides proof: *ibid.*, p. 346 (ccciiiixv + lvi + xxiii = cccclxxiii).

² *Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec* (Camden Soc.), pp. 155, 167-8; *Surrey Manorial Accounts* (Surrey Record Soc.), pp. 72-3.

³ *Bishop Hatfield's Survey*, Surtees Soc., pp. 223, 241.

⁴ Pipe Roll 7 R.I., p. 15. Some instructions issued to the itinerant justices in 1194 regarding the restocking of manors provide that the price of a coarse-woolled sheep (*ovis lanæ grossioris*) shall be sixpence, that of a fine-woolled sheep (*ovis crispæ*) ten pence.—Stubbs, *Select Charters*, 9th edition, p. 255. Dr Poole has pointed out that the Pipe Rolls of the next two years show that these prices were closely adhered to and that *ovis crispæ* were only introduced on one manor.—*English Hist. Rev.*, April 1940, p. 285. Curiously enough the price in that case works out at 4d. a head, but no doubt this represents the excess over the coarse-woolled sheep they replaced.—Chancellor's Roll 8 R.I., p. 190. Some of the inferred prices are quite independent of the disputed 'hundred': e.g. 34 sheep bought for 17s. at Bledlow, Bucks.—Pipe Roll 7 R.I., p. 35.

tradition proves, however, to be only apparent. The allowances for 'defaults' were not calculated at twopence a head, but at the rate of two shillings for ten sheep or half that for a half-year. Thus in the same roll we find four shillings for a default of 20 sheep at Kirton in Lincolnshire and 30s. *pro c et l ovibus* at Bampton in Oxfordshire, and, in that of the preceding year, 42s. *pro cc et x ovibus* at Wirksworth, and at Somerton in Somerset a sum of 22s. 6d. for half a year *de cc et xxv ovibus*.¹ It appears indeed that the 'hundred' of the entries about defaults, like that of purchase entries, was the ordinary hundred of five score. But the witness of the latter has still to be considered.

In a few cases the price per head is specifically stated. In the Pipe Roll of 1184-5 it is recorded that £19 10s. was paid in respect of the lands of Guy de Rochford in Essex *pro D et quater xx et v ovibus precium cujusque viii*.² In that of 1197 we read that at Meon in Hampshire, where 2½ marks (i.e. £1 13s. 4d.) were paid *pro c ovibus*, the price was fourpence a head (*ove computata iiiid.*); and in that of 1199 a statement that 500 sheep were obtained for two Cumberland manors at a cost of £25 is followed by the words *scilicet pro ove xii d.*³ These were unusual prices for their dates, and perhaps that is why the explanatory note was added. Without such aids, however, the use of the ordinary hundred is clearly revealed in an overwhelming majority of cases by the fact that the total sum, divided by the number of sheep, yields a definite and acceptable quotient if they are so reckoned and does not do so if the figures are interpreted by the long hundred. The evidence is conveniently assembled in Dr A. L. Poole's article on Live Stock Prices in the Twelfth Century, which was published in 1940 and tabulates for the chief classes of stock all the prices that can be inferred from the Pipe Rolls from 1163 to 1199.⁴ For sheep, Dr Poole gives 168 examples and only in seven of them did he judge that the long hundred was employed. These were in Northumberland (at Ellingham and on the land of William de Vesci), in Nottinghamshire (at Worksop and Gringley), in Suffolk (at Orford), in Cambridgeshire (at Balsham), and on some lands of Ralph de Caugi, the location of which is not clear.⁵ Apart from the uncertainty attaching to the last case, these examples conform to the pattern of usage suggested by the evidence previously examined and only increase the area in which

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28; Pipe Roll 6 R.I., pp. 80, 184. The Wirksworth deficit corresponds almost exactly with the purchase noted above as made the next year.

² Pipe Roll 31 H.II., p. 43. Round pointed out in 1913 that this entry shows that these sheep "were reckoned by the short hundred."—*Rotuli de Dominabus*, Introduction, p. xxxiii.

³ Pipe Roll 9 R.I., p. 17; 1 John, p. 120. ⁴ *op. cit.*, pp. 286-94.

⁵ Pipe Rolls 17 H.II., pp. 4, 116; 30 H.II., pp. 100, 155; 31 H.II., p. 10; 34 H.II., p. 5.

that showed that the long hundred was sometimes employed by adding instances from Northumberland and Nottinghamshire. Moreover the fact that local usage was thus followed in the Pipe Rolls enhances the value of their evidence, for it makes it impossible to argue that they only reflect the practice of the Exchequer. And the range of their witness is remarkable. The roll for the year 1195 especially deserves examination as it contains an exceptional amount of relevant material, and for the purpose of the present inquiry it is necessary to go into some matters of detail that are not dealt with in Dr Poole's article. Of the 60 purchases of sheep which it records, 42 were for numbers expressed in figures that include either the numeral C or, in two cases, D. On the assumption that C=100 and D=500 all the 60 cases work out at exactly sixpence a head. It is true that 24 of them would also yield a quotient in whole pence if interpreted by the long hundred. But the price would then be fivepence a head and that cannot be regarded as an admissible figure. The roll supplies no unequivocal example of it, whereas a price of sixpence is unequivocally revealed in 38 cases and is moreover the price named for coarse-woolled sheep in the instructions to the justices.¹ It seems indeed certain that the ordinary hundred was employed throughout this roll. And its witness takes us into nineteen counties—those of Derby, Nottingham, Warwick, Oxford, Buckingham, Bedford, Norfolk, Essex, Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall. Moreover this list can be extended on the evidence of other twelfth-century rolls which contain indisputable examples of sheep reckoned by the short hundred in Northumberland, Cumberland, Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, and Sussex, and others that should probably be interpreted as such from Yorkshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire.²

5. I have failed to find any evidence at all for seven western counties—those of Westmorland, Lancaster, Chester, Shropshire, Stafford, Worcester, and Hereford. But for the rest of England it is possible to summarize the results of the foregoing inquiry. It has shown that the six-score hundred was

¹ In all the twelfth-century Pipe Rolls there appear to be only three clear cases of sheep bought at fivepence a head. These were at Eaton Bray (Bedfordshire) in 1185, Edlesborough (Bucks.) in 1186, and Gomshall (Surrey) in 1193.

² The cases here classed as probable are among those which work out at sixpence a head if C=100 and at fivepence if C=120, but one can hardly regard them as certainly employing the five-score hundred because they are anterior to the instructions of 1194, and, in the years to which they belong, the sixpenny price was not so well established as it had become by 1195. Dr Poole, however, interpreted them by the ordinary hundred, and probably he was right. Only three cases are involved—Tickhill, Yorkshire; Frisby on the Wreak, Leicestershire; and Sulby, Northants: see Pipe Rolls 12 H.II., p. 50; 32 H.II., p. 134; 6 R.I., p. 27.

sometimes used for the enumeration of sheep in thirteen counties, while a warning that the ordinary hundred could not be taken for granted in the county of Durham may perhaps justify its addition to the list. If Durham is included, a clear geographical pattern is revealed. The fourteen counties form a single block, each being contiguous to one or more of the others. They include every eastern seaboard county from the Tweed to the Thames, and, of those that lie inland, Nottinghamshire and Northamptonshire are the most western. On the other hand, a use of the ordinary hundred in sheep statistics has been discerned in 25 counties, or, if the 'probable' examples are admitted, in 28.¹ These include all the counties south of Thames and they also include every one of the above-mentioned fourteen counties with the exception of Suffolk. There is thus no justification whatever for the view that the long hundred was "the prevailing usage in sheep-farming accounts." In eastern England north of Thames both modes of reckoning were employed and the statistician may well feel some doubt which to assume when he is faced by a bare statement about 'hundreds'. But in the rest of the country (apart from those seven western counties for which I can offer no evidence) he ought to regard a 'hundred' as meaning five score 'unless the contrary appears'. And, so far as my investigations have gone, it does not appear.

¹ Besides the 24 (or 27) counties mentioned in paragraph 4, these figures include Lincolnshire (East Fen and the Monklode *multones*) cited in paragraph 2 above.

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Enclosure in Kesteven

By DENNIS R. MILLS

INTRODUCTION

GENERALLY speaking, the enclosure movements of the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries assumed their greatest importance in the areas where the open-field system had been most firmly established, that is, in the 'Midland Triangle' and scarpland England, with the exception of parts of the south-east. Although it has long been recognized that there were local and regional contrasts within these areas, many of them still remain to be studied in detail. Detailed studies are essential to a fuller understanding of the variations in the pace of enclosure from one period to another and from one place to another. The present paper has therefore been prepared in an attempt to summarize some of the source material for Kesteven and to put forward some tentative conclusions based upon it. Particular attention has been paid to the mapping of enclosure evidence and to relating it to what is known of soil conditions, land utilization, and differences in land tenure and ownership. Some consideration is also given to the economic effects of enclosures, since they provide a very important clue to the original motives for enclosure.

The subject was approached in the first place by means of the Parliamentary awards, data from which were mapped wherever possible.¹ This method not only revealed the extent of private enclosure in parishes where there was also an award, but also helped to throw into sharper relief the distribution of those parishes wholly enclosed by private agreement. Enclosure of this type was then investigated by reference to glebe and town terriers, estate papers, and other documentary and printed sources.

THE PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY OF KESTEVEN AND THE SELECTION OF SAMPLE AREAS

Although it is not the largest of the three Divisions of Lincolnshire, Kesteven embraces within its bounds a relatively large part of the English scarpland and is comparable in size with Oxfordshire and modern Surrey. It is approximately elliptical in shape and contains three major landscape divisions, each of them elongated from north to south. In the west there is a section of the Lias Clay vale; in the centre is an upland, generally known in

¹ The awards are in the custody of the Kesteven County Council. The writer wishes to thank the Council and Mr J. E. Holman for placing these documents at his disposal. Dates quoted are those of award maps, unless otherwise stated.

the north as the Heath and in the south as the Kesteven Plateau, which consists of Middle Jurassic rocks, principally limestones, marlstones, and clays; and in the east this upland is succeeded by a strip of largely peaty fenland contiguous with the Fens of Holland and Lindsey. But within these broad divisions there are many local variations in geology, soil, slope, natural drainage, and water supply which are reflected to a very great extent in the patterns of early settlement and township boundaries.

A close study of these patterns has made possible the division of the 215 townships into seventeen groups, each group containing townships of similar physical geography.¹ The present discussion is concerned with only three of these groups, or Regions, which have been selected in such a way that all three major landscape divisions are represented.

THE GRAFFOE TERRACES (Fig. 1)

This Region is situated within the Liassic Clay Vale which sweeps across northern Leicestershire, eastern Nottinghamshire, and western Lincolnshire in a curving strip about ten miles wide. In the area to the west of Lincoln, however, the 'solid' clay is overlain by extensive spreads of fluvio-glacial gravels, forming a series of terraces at heights of 40–110 feet. Although most of the Region is now drained by streams of the Witham system, the watershed between that river and the Trent has remained relatively unstable even in recent historic time.² The physical keynotes of the area are therefore threefold: a remarkable lack of steep gradients, a mixture of clay and sandy soils, and a liability to flooding in the northern and eastern parts.

The gridiron pattern of township boundaries, so characteristic of clay vales, is absent from the Graffoe Terraces, for although the townships are roughly oblong in shape, their overall pattern is as irregular as that of the terraces on which they are laid out. Each of the early settlements was established on a gravel site located, with the exception of North Scarle, near the junction of gravels and clay. It is probable therefore that the township fields generally lay on either side of the village, some on clay soils, some on the sandy soils of the gravels, as at Swinderby and Thorpe.³ In addition to normal agricultural townships there were four areas which retained the status of extra-parochial land well into the nineteenth century: these were

¹ See D. R. Mills, 'Regions of Kesteven devised for the purposes of agricultural history', *Reports and Papers of the Lincs. Architectural and Archaeological Soc.*, VII (2), 1957, pp. 60–82. Readers would find useful the Quarter-Inch Geological Map.

² See J. S. Padley, *Fens and Floods of Mid-Lincolnshire*, Lincoln, 1885, Plan 1.

³ Thorpe Enclosure Award; a Swinderby glebe terrier refers to North and Middle Clay Fields and South Sand Field.—Lincs. Archives Office (=LAO), Ter. 6/522, 1613.

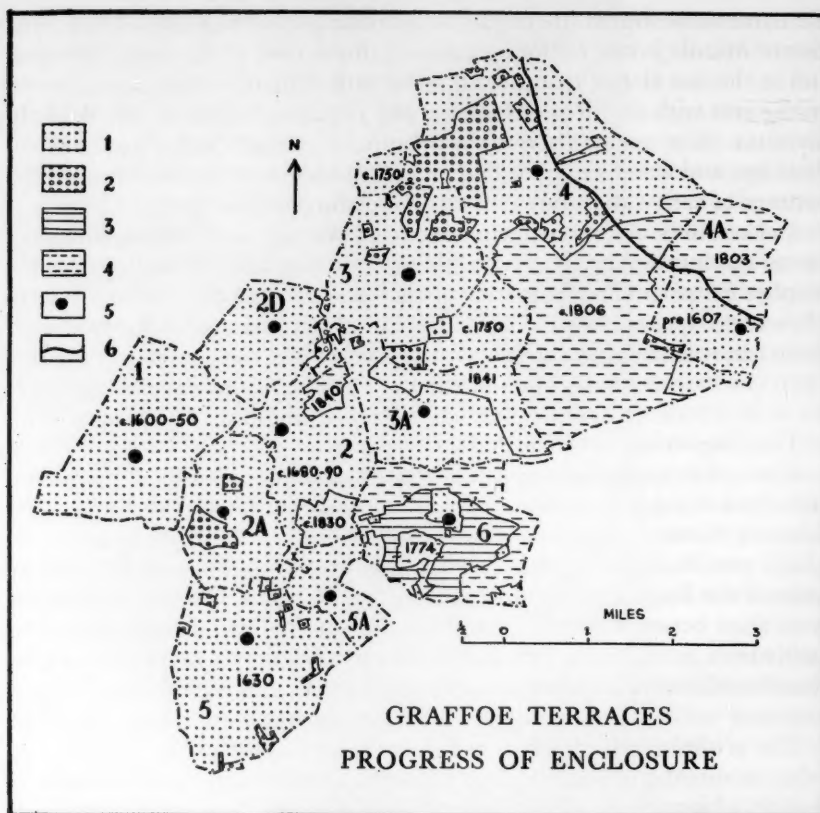


FIG. I

KEY: 1, Privately enclosed; 2, Woodland; 3, Enclosed by Act from open arable field; 4, Enclosed from common waste; 5, Grouped settlements; 6, Western limit of Fen.

TOWNSHIPS: 1, N. Scarle; 2, Eagle; 2A, Eagle Hall; 2D, Swinethorpe; 3, Doddington; 3A, Whisby; 4, Skellingthorpe; 4A, Boultham; 5, Swinderby; 5A, Morton; 6, Thorpe.

Eagle Hall, the site of a preceptory of the Knights Templars, and the three attached granges of Morton, Swinethorpe, and Eagle Woodhouse.¹

In terms of enclosure history, the distinctive feature of this Region is the fact that only approximately 24 per cent of the total area was enclosed by

¹ *White's History and Directory of Lincs.*, 1872, sub Eagle, Swinethorpe, and Morton. Since Eagle Woodhouse contained only 110 acres, it has been included with Eagle for present purposes.

Parliamentary awards. Belonging to a similar period was a small but significant area of private enclosure (about 5.6 per cent of the total); its significance lies in the fact that there is so far little evidence of private enclosure in the other selected Regions after about 1740 (see Table, p. 96). With the exception of those in Thorpe, the open fields of this Region had been enclosed privately before 1700; Parliamentary enclosure was therefore largely concerned here with the areas of moorland and meadow which had survived earlier action. It is interesting to notice that even in North Scarle, where enclosure was complete by 1664, the field land was affected earlier than the wastes. Thus an episcopal letter of that year records that about 1614 the East Field was enclosed, followed about thirty years later by two more fields, and finally after another fourteen years by "the common waste and other desert grounds."¹ Thus an attempt must be made to explain, not only the early incidence of enclosure in this Region, but also why the open fields were the first areas to be affected.

It is now a familiar idea that where lords were in possession of the greater part of the land in a manor, they were able to press enclosure at an early date. Of this type of enclosure there appear to be certainly two, and possibly four, examples in the Graffoe Terraces (see Appendix). The case of Boultham was recorded by the inquisition of depopulation of 1607. "Wm. Broxholme, esq., being owner of all the houses and lands in Boultham (except 2 houses) hath decayed all of them by taking the Lands, Meadows, and Pastures from them and hath converted the arable into pasture and enclosed the same."² Likewise at Doddington the greater part of the estate, excluding the moors, had been enclosed by the Burghs before the survey of 1585.³

A second category of old-enclosed land lay in the extra-parochial areas of former monastic ownership, while yet a third category belonged very largely to free- or copy-holders at the time of its enclosure. This last category includes the whole of North Scarle and Swinderby and the greater part of Eagle. The Swinderby enclosure, which took place in 1630, was succeeded by virtually thirty years of litigation between the Disney family (as lords of the manor) and the copyholders, who numbered 23 in 1628. In this year an agreement was reached between the parties to carry out the enclosure of 929 acres of common field and 1,180 acres of moor and waste. The final

¹ LAO, Ter. 10/88, 1664.

² BM, Julius Caesar Papers, Add. MS. 11574, fo. 66. From the evidence of the enclosure act in Boultham Church the fen grounds appear not to have been enclosed, although they may have been removed from common usage. I am much indebted to Dr Joan Thirsk for the loan of her transcript of these Papers and for considerable patient advice in the preparation of this article.

³ R. E. G. Cole, *History of Doddington*, 1897, pp. 54-5.

agreement of 1658-9 can be counted at least a partial victory for the copyholders, since by that agreement they became freeholders.¹ It is important to inquire, however, why they and their neighbours in Eagle and North Scarle were apparently willing parties to enclosure.

The one circumstance common to freeholder, copyholder, tenant, and lord in the Graffoe Terraces was the nature of the soil. It is not difficult to imagine that by the sixteenth century the sandy soil areas of the open fields had become exhausted by constant cropping, while on the other hand it was felt that the clay areas would be more profitable under grass.² Peasant farmers were not averse to extensions of pasture farming,³ and while they could have resorted to a type of ley farming as elsewhere, enclosure was clearly a better solution to their difficulties. It is perhaps instructive to recall that Thorpe was the only parish in this Region in which open fields remained until the eighteenth century, and that it is in this parish only that a calcareous sandstone gives rise to an area of rather better sandy loams. Did landowners in Thorpe hesitate to follow the local fashion of enclosing because they did not suffer such a crying need to improve the fertility of their soil?

So much for early enclosure. The later phase, beginning about 1740 and lasting for a little over a century, was concerned (except in Thorpe) solely with the enclosure of common moorland and meadow. There appear to be three major reasons why this enclosure did not occur earlier.

First, the soil was very poor; and secondly, the northern parts of Skellingthorpe and Boultham were liable to flooding.⁴ A third reason may lie in the fact that although they were the least valuable part of the parish, the enclosure of commons could often occasion the most trouble. The division of the commons had been much debated, for example, at Swinderby in the previous century, and collections of eighteenth-century estate papers frequently contain correspondence about claims to common rights in parishes

¹ Cole, 'Swinderby Inclosure, A.D. 1629-1658', *Deanery of Graffoe Magazine*, June 1896-Aug. 1897. I wish to thank Mrs J. Varley and Mrs D. M. Owen for helping me to trace this reference and for a considerable amount of assistance with other documentary material.

² BM, Julius Caesar Papers, *loc. cit.*, ff. 66, 68, 69. Conversion of arable to pasture is specifically mentioned at Boultham and Skellingthorpe, while the conversion of houses of husbandry into cottages is reported at Eagle and Whisby. At Eagle in 1656 the tenants and copyholders, petitioning for enclosure, stated that "most of the land now tilled is more proper for grass, and that moor ground now eaten as common is fitter for corn, as is proved by experience amongst our next neighbours . . ." (W. O. Massingberd, 'Enclosures and Depopulations in Lincolnshire', *Lincs. N. and Q.*, x, 1908-9, p. 76).

³ Joan Thirsk, *Fenland Farming in the Sixteenth Century*, University of Leicester, Occasional Papers, No. 3, 1953, p. 41.

⁴ LAO, LD 71/4.

about to be enclosed.¹ Perhaps no better example could be found than Skellingthorpe itself, where, although the Act was passed in the session 1803-4 and the enclosure carried out in 1806, the award was not finally enrolled until 1830. Much of the delay was due to disputes over drainage, disagreements between commissioners, and other matters; but not a little confusion appears to have been caused by the claims to common rights made by the lord of the manor of Boultham and by large numbers of freeholders and tenants in North Hykeham.²

On the other hand, the enclosure of moor in Doddington, Whisby, and Eagle Barnsdale by private agreement was made possible by the fact that in each case only one lay owner was involved. Here there was no need to invoke the new method of enclosure, a circumstance which only serves to emphasize how the new legal machinery facilitated the solution of disputes almost invariably attendant upon the enclosure of a whole parish.

THE NORTHERN FEN MARGIN (Fig. II)

Although the western extremity of the Northern Fen Margin lies only a mile or so from the easternmost part of the Graffoe Terraces, there are marked differences of physical build between the two Regions. Eastwards of the clay vale one encounters the steep scarp of the Cliff, capped by the relatively resistant Lincolnshire Limestone. This is succeeded by the gentle dip slope some six to ten miles long which may be divided into two parts. The western part is the Heath proper, about five to six miles wide, with heights ranging between 100 and 200 feet above sea level. Here the limestone outcrops, but in the eastern part it is replaced by a strip, one to four miles wide, in which there is a mixture of soils derived from both solid rocks and drift at heights of 30-100 feet. This area may be termed the central zone of the Region, for on its eastern flank are the peat Fens stretching away eastwards for a distance of three or four miles to the River Witham at heights barely above sea level. The townships of this Region are characteristically long and narrow, and include within their boundaries portions of each of the three physical zones. Towards the Lincoln Gap, in the north, the central zone narrows considerably and the townships become less elongated.

With one exception the early settlements of this Region were made at the junction of the limestone and the central zone, generally in a shallow valley which afforded some shelter and a supply of water. A further advantage of these sites was their proximity to the areas of soil most suitable for the

¹ E.g., LAO, Aswarby, 5/14 *re* fen in Timberland in east Kesteven.

² LAO, LD 71/20-22 and TLE 37WD, especially 3/IX.

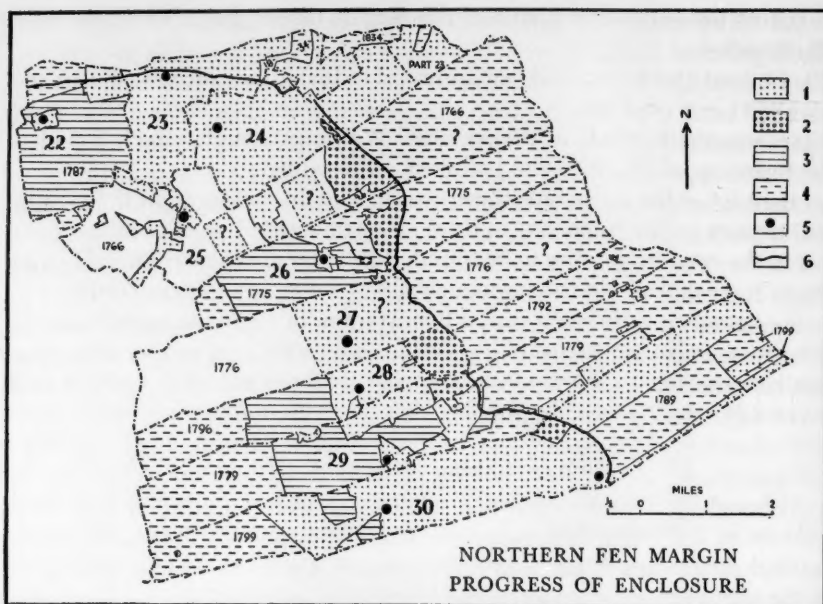


FIG. II

KEY as for Fig. I

TOWNSHIPS: 22, Canwick; 23, Washingborough; 24, Heighington; 25, Branston; 26, Potterhanworth; 27, Nocton; 28, Dunston; 29, Metherringham; 30, Blankney. In 30, Linwood is marked on the edge of the Fen.

establishment of open fields; at least, that is the impression to be gained from the evidence of the eighteenth century.¹

The remarkable feature of this Region's history is that 23,000 acres were enclosed by Parliamentary awards, representing about 62 per cent of the total area; except for 349 acres of fenland enclosed in 1834, the whole of this work was carried out in the brief period between 1766 and the end of the century (see Table). Between about 1700 and the beginning of this period there appears to have been a lull in enclosing activity, as there probably was in the Graffoe Terraces, for only in the case of Blankney is there evidence of private enclosure after 1700.²

¹ The exception was Linwood in Blankney, a monastic settlement overlooking the Fens (C. W. Foster and T. Longley, *The Lincolnshire Domesday*, Lincoln Record Society, xix, 1924, p. liv).

² It must be remembered, however, that the main source of evidence is glebe terriers, which became less reliable and less numerous in the eighteenth century.

Within the old enclosed lands of this Region three types of enclosure may be identified:

(1) Former monastic land—at Linwood in Blankney, Sheepwash in Canwick, and Nocton Park.

(2) Almost the whole of the parish of Washingborough, which included the township of Heighington, had been enclosed by 1700.

(3) In the other townships there was little early enclosure on the Heath, rather more in the Fens, but most of all in the central zone of mixed soils where the open fields were to be found. The latter area also contained large patches of woodland in the townships of Nocton and Potterhanworth.¹

The experience of the Northern Fen Margin, in regard to monastic land, was therefore similar to that of the Graffoe Terraces. This type of enclosure probably belongs to a period much earlier than the sixteenth century and may be partly explained by the fact that monastic foundations were often granted blocks of demesne land, for the Statute of Merton (1235-6) recognized the lord's power to enclose his own demesne, whereas in the case of waste he had to leave a 'sufficiency' for the tenants.²

Turning to Washingborough, it is impossible to cite any particular reason for early enclosure; it was clearly not a case of a single dominating lord, for both townships contained substantial numbers of freeholders. Such was the case also at neighbouring Branston where 500 acres were enclosed in 1682, apparently at the instigation of the freeholders; but this enclosure was an instance of the third category listed above, for which a partial explanation can be put forward.

In that part of the central zone which overlooks the Fens large areas were occupied in the eighteenth century by common pasture or woodland. These areas marked the spreads of heavy Boulder Clay soil and the very light soils of gravel terraces. However the predominant soils in this zone are medium and heavy loams which undoubtedly were the most fertile soils in the Northern Fen Margin before the effective drainage of the Fens. The key to progress was therefore to enclose some of this fertile area, leaving aside the common pastures and meadows of Heath and Fen, the enclosure of which might in any case have presented unwelcome problems as at Swinderby. Thus the 500 acres at Branston, which represented a quarter of the arable,

¹ Woodland was generally not enclosed in the normal sense, but gradually absorbed in the lord's demesne.—W. H. R. Curtler, *The Enclosure and Redistribution of Our Land*, Oxford, 1920, p. 22.

² Curtler, *op. cit.*, p. 65. Demesne land was granted at Vaudey in Edenham, Nocton Park, Kyme, and Eagle Hall.—VCH *Lincs.*, II, pp. 144, 169, 173, 211. For details of Linwood see D. M. Williamson, 'Kesteven Villages in the Middle Ages', *Lincs. Historian*, II (2), Spr. 1955, pp. 16-17.

were enclosed for conversion to pasture; it was said to be much needed for the cattle in wet years when the Fens were flooded, the arable having been left untilled because draught cattle could not be properly maintained.¹ The presence of very large common pastures on the Heath and in the Fens did not necessarily imply, therefore, that there was sufficient pasture of good quality for the feeding of draught beasts.

The manner in which the better soil areas were enclosed first is well illustrated by Blankney, where a succession of informative glebe terriers shows that enclosure was taking place to the east of the village in the early seventeenth century. Only in the eighteenth century were the less attractive areas to the west enclosed, and enclosure was still incomplete there at the time of the award of 1799. Enclosure had also been taking place in the Fen in the early seventeenth century, for in 1633 an agreement was signed between the lord of the manor and a yeoman concerning the rearrangement of Fen closes to their mutual convenience.² The lord was Sir William Widrington whose family resided in Blankney in the early eighteenth century (if not before) and was replaced by the Chaplins. The latter family owned about ninety per cent of the township at the time of the award. It is therefore tempting to ascribe to the influence of these families the advanced stage of private enclosure in Blankney; on the other hand, Nocton was similarly owned, yet less than a quarter of the parish had been enclosed when the award was carried out.

The sudden and extensive impact of the Parliamentary enclosure movement in this Region has already been touched upon. Although the Northern Fen Margin was not alone in this respect,³ it is possible to detect an additional reason for hurrying on the enclosure of Fen districts. The first serious attempt made in the eighteenth century to improve the drainage of these Witham or northern Fens took place in the 1760's, and since it was concentrated wholly on the river itself it was not sufficiently successful to make the Fens suitable for arable farming.⁴ This could only be achieved by considerably improving and extending the small drainage dykes in the Fen itself and by erecting windmills to pump water off the land into the river and the dykes. Schemes were devised whereby owners of land in the Fens paid for drainage by means of an 'acre tax', i.e. on a *pro rata* basis. These schemes were first operated under the Act of 1761, enclosed, common, and half-year's land all being assessed on different scales; but when the need for

¹ LAO, Benefice Papers, 2/30. ² LAO, Cragg 5/1/19.

³ J. Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, 1957, pp. 212, 238-9, 262-3, and 292.

⁴ S. H. Wheeler, *The History of the Fens of South Lincolnshire*, London, 2nd ed., 1895, pp. 153-4.

further work arose, enclosure was obviously an expedient course of action. In the first place, it increased the revenue from the drainage rate; in the second, it facilitated the purchase of land for dykes and embankments; and in the third place, it enabled the owners to get a bigger return from the land. Thus in all the parishes of this Region Fen enclosure either preceded local drainage or was carried out by means of a joint drainage and enclosure Act.¹

The optimism of those who pressed for enclosure and drainage was clearly justified, for contemporary commentaries speak of heavy crops, particularly of oats and coleseed, being grown on the newly turned soil of the Fens. In the same period the open Heaths were enclosed, one Act usually sufficing for the whole of each township. The Heaths had been renowned for their bleakness and loneliness, for their rabbit warrens, and for poor sheep pasture which was apt to burn up in the summer, but all this was changed by the adoption of the Norfolk system of farming.²

THE SOUTHERN LIMESTONE HEATH (Fig. III)

Persons travelling southwards along the Jurassic upland from Lincoln are conscious of subtle yet appreciable changes in the appearance of the landscape. The summit levels rise from around 200–250 feet to about 350–400. With the increase in height is associated a deeper dissection of the plateau surface by both dry and occupied valleys. To the south of the Ancaster Gap, the upland is often known as the 'Kesteven Plateau', a name which recognizes the prevalence of very low angles of dip and the conspicuous similarity in summit heights. A further difference between north and south lies in the fact that large patches of Boulder Clay, mostly derived from Jurassic clays, are found on the plateau south of Ancaster, whereas the limestone to the north is almost completely free of drift.

The Southern Limestone Heath contains fourteen small townships, several of which are members of multi-township parishes. The characteristic township shape is that of a broad oblong, stretching from west to east from crest to crest across the valley of a southward-flowing stream (e.g. Little Bytham), or, more occasionally, half-way, from crest to stream (e.g. Couthorpe). Thus in each township there was land by the river suitable for meadow; while on the hilltops and hillsides the mixture of crech (limestone) and clay soils appears to have been largely occupied by the open arable fields, with the exception of woodland and very small areas of common pasture.

During the period 1767–1818 about 40 per cent of the Southern Lime-

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 153, 182–9; Thirsk, *op. cit.*, pp. 212 and 214.

² Thirsk, *op. cit.*, pp. 220–8, 257–62, 276–82.

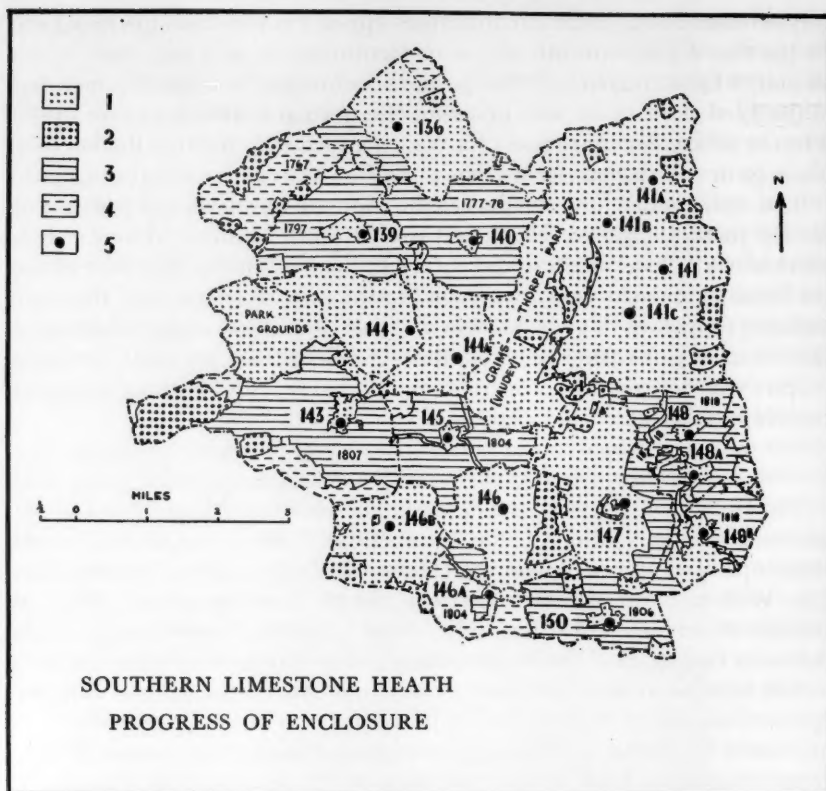


FIG. III

KEY as for Fig. I

TOWNSHIPS: 136, Corby; 139, Swayfield; 140, Swinstead; 141, Edenham, with 141A, Elsthorpe, 141B, Grimsthorpe, 141C, Scottlethorpe; 143, Castle Bytham; 144, Counthorpe; 144A, Creeton; 145, Little Bytham; 146, Careby; 146A, Aunby; 146B, Holywell; 147, Witham; 148, Toft; 148A, Lound; 148B, Manthorpe; 150, Carlbv.

stone Heath was enclosed by various Acts (see Table). This Region therefore bears some comparison with the Graffoe Terraces, where Parliamentary enclosure was a long drawn-out process affecting an area which, by the standards of north-east Kesteven, was relatively small. An immediate distinction must be made between the five townships that were wholly enclosed before 1700, and the eight in which well over two-thirds of the land was enclosed by award. Only Witham-on-the-Hill is left aside; in this township 476 acres were enclosed by award, out of a total of 2,167.

A combination of three circumstances appears to have brought about the enclosures of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. First, there was a shortage of pasture, not only for the more commercially-minded farmer, but probably also for those who practised the normal husbandry of an open-field township. A comparison of a typical award map for this Region (e.g. Little Bytham) with one for the Northern Fen Margin (e.g. Metherringham) immediately reveals how small were the common meadows and pastures of the Southern Limestone Heath in the eighteenth century. Moreover it is well known that in the previous century farmers of this locality were in the habit of hiring pastures in the fenland to the east.¹ Furthermore, there are frequent references in glebe terriers to 'lands' in the open fields which were either partially or entirely grassed down. Some of these lea lands remained in that state for upwards of a century and probably reflect both a shortage of pasture and difficulties of cultivation.

Secondly, it is important to notice that several powerful landed families were resident in this neighbourhood in the sixteenth and succeeding centuries. Thus the presence of the Bertie family (dukes of Ancaster) at Grims-thorpe Castle in Edenham, the Hatchers at Careby, the Goodalls and Reynardsons at Holywell, and the Hackets at Creeton (where whole townships were enclosed without an award), and the Harringtons and Johnsons at Witham (where early enclosure was very extensive) serves to emphasize, in this Region at least, the importance of the gentry in relation to the early enclosure movement. These families were not only manorial lords, but also the principal, if not the sole, lay landowners.

On the other hand, it is clear that the same or similar families owned considerable areas of land in the townships which were enclosed by award. Although such townships generally contained a sprinkling of small freeholders, the gentry were in a powerful position and could probably have enclosed if they had pressed the matter sufficiently. The third circumstance which led to early enclosure therefore appears to be that the gentry had some particular reason for enclosing townships in which they resided. There is little evidence that 'landscaping' was important before the late seventeenth century. A more plausible reason is that the gentry were themselves farming considerable parts of their home manors and were thus led to a policy of selective enclosure.

The price revolution of the Elizabethan and early Stuart periods was a hard time for the gentry; their expenses rose, yet they had little chance of raising their rents quickly owing to the system of long leases and copyholds for life or other long periods which then obtained. Amongst four possible

¹ Thirsk, *English Peasant Farming*, p. 176.

solutions open to them, which Professor Tawney has listed, is the following: "... He could expand his own business activities, run his home farm, not to supply his household, but as a commercial concern, enlarge his demesnes, and enclose for the purpose of carrying more stock or increasing the output of grain."¹ It is clear that the Hatchers pursued this kind of policy at Careby, while there is a strong suggestion that Grimsthorpe was the scene of extensive sheep farming at least as early as 1584.²

In contrast with the progress made by the early enclosure movement, enclosure by award was relatively slow, and in 1800, when the movement had virtually finished in north-east Kesteven, there were still several townships unenclosed. The way in which this Region lagged behind is perplexing, especially in view of the residence of so many landed gentry, but a partial explanation may be put forward. While enclosure in north-east Kesteven paved the way to the extension of grain acreages to meet the demands of an expanding industrial market, it could have had only limited effects in that direction in the Southern Limestone Heath. There the unenclosed land was already very largely under cultivation, and although enclosure could have led to improved yields it could have made possible no appreciable increases in grain acreages (apart from the elimination of fallow). In fact, Arthur Young observed that in south Kesteven "upon soils clay and mould, which do for grazing, inclosure changes arable to grass; but upon creech continued arable."³

On the other hand, it is important to consider whether enclosure in this period was the effect of a progressive attitude to farming rather than the cause. In the middle of the nineteenth century south Kesteven was the one part of Lincolnshire which was picked out by Clarke to receive his stinging criticism.⁴ What a similar observer might have said in 1800 is not clear; nevertheless, the suspicion lingers that poor farmers and a conservative tradition failed to help, if they did not positively hold back, Parliamentary enclosure in this Region.

CONCLUSIONS

It is clear that within the relatively small compass of the areas studied there occurred wide differences in the timing and pace of enclosure. Never-

¹ R. H. Tawney, 'The Rise of the Gentry, 1558-1640', in *Essays in Economic History*, ed. E. M. Carus-Wilson, London, 1954, pp. 184-5.

² Thirsk, *Fenland Farming*, p. 51; and *English Peasant Farming*, p. 176; LAO, ANC 1/3/19.

³ A. Young, *A General View of the Agriculture of the Co. of Lincoln*, London, 1799, p. 468.

⁴ J. A. Clarke, *The Agriculture of the County of Lincoln in 1851*, London, 1852, pp. 124-5 and 151.

theless it is possible to make several general observations at two levels, the regional and the parochial.

Each of the three regions appears to have been strongly affected by national changes in the prosperity of agriculture. Only in this manner is it possible to account for the two great waves of enclosing activity which occurred approximately between 1500 and 1640 and between 1750 and 1840. These were periods of farming prosperity, a fact which establishes the importance of the economic factor in relation to enclosure.

The form of the enclosure, however, varied from one region to another, for the economic benefits to be gained from enclosure depended partly on the physical circumstances of the region. Thus, for instance, early enclosure proceeded rapidly in the Graffoe Terraces, where soil exhaustion was most keenly felt. Within each region, too, there were variations in the pace of enclosure. In the Northern Fen Margin early enclosure was most apparent in the central zone, for it was in this zone that enclosure could bring the greatest benefits. Of the two remaining zones, the limestone Heath was less affected by early enclosure than the Fens, a fact which suggests that land improvements on the Heath were virtually impossible until the value of turnip cultivation was recognized in the second half of the eighteenth century.

At the parochial level the pattern of events is less easy to interpret, since so much depended upon local personalities and balances of power. Nevertheless there is evidence in all three regions that resident lords and monastic foundations were generally associated with early enclosure. Enclosure by manorial lords was not merely a result of their social dominance, but also, as Professor Tawney has pointed out, a result of the peculiar way in which they were open to economic pressures. At the opposite extreme, townships which contained a large number of freeholders were enclosed later, unless exceptional difficulties of farming forced unanimity upon them, as in the Graffoe Terraces and at Branston. The case of Branston is outstanding, since it occurred in 1682, during a general lull in enclosing activity.

Finally, some points of comparison may be made with two neighbouring counties where enclosure history has been studied. In Leicestershire Parliamentary enclosure was marked by an extension of permanent pasture, and not of arable farming, as was generally the case in Kesteven.¹ In both Nottinghamshire and Leicestershire, as in Kesteven, the factor of landownership is one of many factors which must be considered in explaining the course of enclosure history. On the other hand, an interesting point of contrast

¹ H. G. Hunt, *The Parliamentary Enclosure Movement in Leicestershire, 1730-1842*, unpublished London Ph.D. thesis, 1955 (1956), p. 240.

occurs between Nottinghamshire and Kesteven in the eighteenth century: while private enclosure was of little importance in Kesteven during that century, in Nottinghamshire over forty per cent of the total land was enclosed by this method, in contrast to the twelve per cent enclosed before 1700.¹ Such a big difference between neighbouring counties in both the timing and the method of enclosure serves to emphasize that many more local studies of enclosure must be made before a full understanding can be reached.

TABLE TO SUMMARIZE ENCLOSURE IN SELECTED REGIONS OF KESTEVEN

PERIOD AND TYPE OF ENCLOSURE	GRAFFOE TERRACES	NORTHERN FEN MARGIN	SOUTHERN LIMESTONE HEATH
Enclosed privately by 1700	72.0% 15,743 acs.	36.2% 13,827 acs.	60.0% 18,020 acs.
Enclosed privately 1700-1800	2.08% 450 acs.	0.7% c. 300 acs.	Nil? Nil?
Enclosed by Act 1700-1800	7.09% 1,530 acs.	61.1% 23,355 acs.	15.1% 4,528 acs.
Open in 1800	18.83% 3,854 acs.	0.9% 349 acs.	24.3% 7,172 acs.
	21,577 acs.	37,831 acs.	29,720 acs.
Enclosed by both methods 1700-1870	28.8% 5,834 acs.	62.7% 24,453 acs.	39.4% 11,809 acs.

APPENDIX ON SOURCES

Most of the sources upon which this paper is based are quoted in detail in Appendices 4, 9, and 16 of my M.A. thesis: D. R. Mills, *Population and Settlement in Kesteven, c. 1775-c. 1885*, University of Nottingham, 1957 (1958). The following is a list of additional sources, mostly relating to land-ownership, which are quoted neither in my thesis, nor in the footnotes above:

(a) DOCUMENTARY

Kesteven Land Tax Duplicates, 1808 (LAO).

Whisby Tithe Award, LAO F32.

Branston Tithe Award, LAO E541.

¹ J. D. Chambers, *Nottinghamshire in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1932, p. 149.

(b) PRINTED

Burke's Peerage, 1898, *sub* Chaplin.

R. E. G. Cole, *Speculum Dioeceseos Lincolnensis, A.D. 1705-1723*, Lincoln Record Society, IV, 1913, pp. 22, 29, and 43.

LAO, Archivists' Report, 1948-50.

A. R. Maddison, *Lincolnshire Peerages*, Harleian Society, 1903-6, II, pp. 40, 437, and 461; III, p. 1041.

NOTES AND COMMENTS (*continued from page 74*)

held later in the day, Mr George Ordish was re-elected Chairman.

FUTURE CONFERENCES

A Joint Conference on Scottish Agricultural History will be held with the School of Scottish Studies, Edinburgh University, on Saturday, 26 September 1959. Further details may be obtained from Mr George Houston, Department of Political Economy, University of Glasgow.

The One-Day Joint Conference with the Association of Agriculture will be held in the Institute of Education, University of London, on Saturday, 5 December 1959.

The Annual General Meeting and Conference for 1960 will be held at Harper Adams Agricultural College, near Newport, Shropshire, from the evening of Thursday, 7 April, till breakfast-time on Saturday, 9 April.

SCOTTISH STUDIES

Scottish Studies, Volume 3, i, 1959 (the Journal of the School of Scottish Studies of the University of Edinburgh) contains three articles bearing on the Statistical Accounts of Scotland. F. V. Emery of the Oxford University School of Geography gives a geographical description of Scotland prior to the Statistical Accounts. Arthur Geddes of the Edinburgh University Department of Geography writes about the Statistical Accounts of 1790-1825 and 1835-45. Finally, A. M.

Struthers of the Scottish Council of Social Service discusses the progress of a pilot scheme for a third Statistical Account after the Second World War. In the same number Ian Whitaker records the types of wooden harrows used in North Uist.

The Scottish Historical Review, Volume 38 (1), 1959, contains two articles of interest to readers of the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW. The first is a description of the custom of taking the cattle to summer shielings or upland pastures, which was once a common feature of Highland farming; it is by Victor Gaffney, a former research student at Edinburgh University. The other is by Asgaut Steinnes of Oslo and deals with the existence of the Scandinavian 'Huseby' (technical name for a royal administrative farm of military character) land system in Orkney in the ninth and tenth centuries.

FORTY YEARS OF DANISH FARM RECORDS

Det landøkonomiske Driftsbureau (The Danish Institute of Farm Management and Agricultural Economics) has recently published a survey entitled *Technical and Economic Changes in Danish Farming*. The Institute was established in 1916 and between 1916 and 1957 analysed no less than 32,402 sets of farm accounts. The present publication summarizes the trends in Danish farming, which these accounts reveal, between 1917 and 1957.

Agricultural Rent in South-East England, 1788-1825

By H. G. HUNT

MOST of our knowledge concerning the development of agriculture and the fortunes of landowners and farmers during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries is derived from the commentary of contemporary witnesses. The county reports to the Board of Agriculture, the correspondence published in the *Annals of Agriculture*, and the numerous pamphlets on the plight of the poor contain many references to the inflation of farmers' profits and landlords' rents during the Napoleonic Wars. The Reports of the Select Committees in 1820, 1821, 1822, and 1833 leave no doubt about the widespread distress among farmers and the difficulties of estate stewards during the period of adjustment that followed, particularly in the early 1820's. But if the general trends are clear, much of the evidence suffers from a lack of precision. To take just one example, John Boys, writing on the agriculture of Kent in 1805, states that "Since the former edition of this work [1796], rents have much increased, and in some instances have experienced an enormous advance; particularly in rich soils, and in the neighbourhood of market towns. The late extravagantly high prices of corn operated as a bounty upon its production, by encouraging an enlarged cultivation."¹ This observation shows quite clearly some of the changes that were taking place at the turn of the century; nevertheless one would like to know a great deal more about them. What was the extent of the increase in rent? For how long did it continue, and how quickly was the landlord able to tap the increased prosperity of the farmers? Similarly, the minutes of evidence taken by the Select Committee in 1821, although voluminous, leave a number of important questions unanswered.² It is evident that by that date prosperity was at an end. But it is necessary to discover how quickly and in what ways rents were adjusted to the changes in the fortunes of the tenants, and when the actual turning-points came. Fresh advances in this field of study are now to be made mainly by the detailed examination of estate papers and other material which throw light on these questions. A contribution is made in this article by the analysis of changes in agricultural rent in one area of south-east England.

The Kent Archives Office contains a fine series of account books pertain-

¹ *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Kent*, 1805, p. 39.

² *British Parl. Papers*, 1821, Vol. IX.

ing to the estate of Lord Darnley of Cobham.¹ In addition to his extensive estate in Ireland and smaller properties in other parts of England, Darnley owned a good deal of land in north-west Kent, particularly in the parishes of Cobham, Gravesend, Cliffe, Chalk, and Cuxton. The account books compiled by his steward, William Stevenson, contain details of the income and expenses of Darnley's Kentish property in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and are of great value to the historian in providing complete and continuous data concerning rents, sizes of farms, leases, and capital improvements on the estate. In order to trace the course of agricultural rents it is necessary to distinguish the income from Darnley's farms from that of his other property. The latter included a large number of houses and gardens, shops, a rope yard, a shipwright's yard, a boatbuilder's yard, a corn mill, and a public house. Darnley was the impropiator of tithes in a number of parishes and also owned land used for digging chalk.² In 1788 Darnley owned ten farms in north-west Kent varying in size from 250 acres to 700 acres, the aggregate area being approximately 3,800 acres.³ By 1820 he had considerably enlarged his estate to 7,500 acres by the purchase of a further twenty-five farms. The following table summarizes the changes in his income from farm rents between 1788 and 1820, including the rent from the farms he purchased between these dates.

<i>Date</i> ⁴	<i>Aggregate Rent</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Aggregate Rent</i>
1788-89	£2,229	1807-08	£5,243
1791-92	£3,098	1810-11	£6,525
1794-95	£3,269	1813-14	£7,260
1797-98	£3,349	1816-17	£7,477
1801-02	£3,486	1819-20	£8,149
1804-05	£4,022		

Darnley's total farm rents rose from £2,229 in 1788 to £8,149 in 1820, an increase of 266 per cent in thirty-two years. While this large rise can partly be accounted for by the increase in land values between these two dates, his purchases of land also helped to swell his income from farm rents. Thus it

¹ K.A.O. U565.

² Some of his land was leased by a group of men who proposed to construct a tunnel under the Thames at Gravesend. For the plan of the project, which was never carried out, see K.A.O. Q/RUM 89.

³ It is not possible to ascertain the exact size of Darnley's estate in 1788 since there was no survey of his farms at that time and acreages are not mentioned in the account books. Later surveys, although providing a guide, do not contain references to recent increases or reductions in the size of the farms.

⁴ Darnley's financial year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas.

is clearly necessary to consider separately (a) the rent from those farms he possessed in 1788 and (b) the rent from those farms subsequently purchased.

First let us trace the rents paid by the occupiers of the former group of farms. The aggregate rent from these farms rose from £2,229 in 1788 to £4,404 in 1820, i.e. a rise of about 100 per cent. This rise did not take place evenly. A close analysis of the rent changes shows that five distinct periods can be distinguished:

	<i>Average increase in rent per annum</i>
1788-99	1.6%
1800-04	1.8%
1805-11	5.0%
1812-15	nil
1816-20	3.3%

If we compare these changes with the price of corn in Kent (Fig. I) an interesting correlation emerges. Corn prices fluctuated considerably from year to year, but apart from one or two years of good harvest, prices were on average creeping upwards between 1788 and 1804. Rents also underwent a

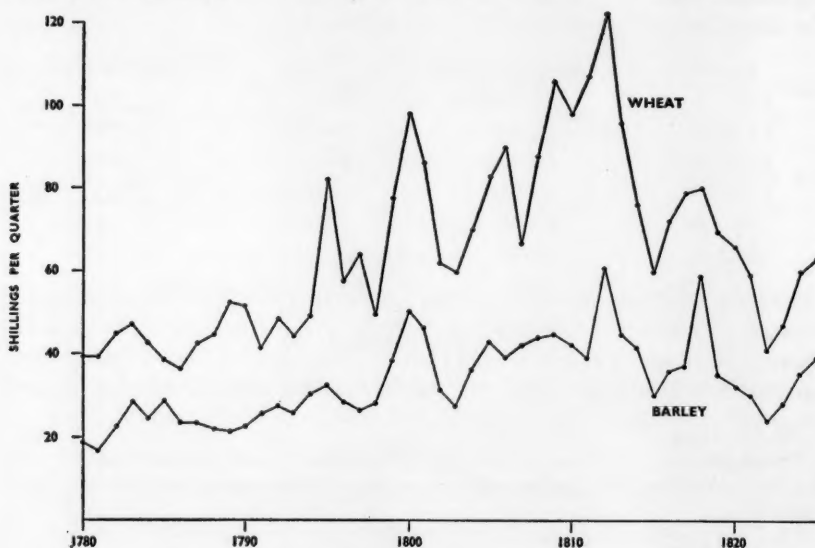


FIG. I

Kent Corn Prices (first week in October), from the *London Gazette*. After 1820 prices are the average from Canterbury.

modest rise in this period. The most rapid advances in rent took place between 1805 and 1811 when wheat prices were increasing rapidly. On the other hand, rents were almost stagnant between 1812 and 1815 when wheat prices fell by more than 50 per cent. Between the end of the war and 1820 rents began to rise again. This at first sight seems puzzling in view of the uncertainty among farmers and landowners and of the sharp fall of corn prices in 1819 and 1820. The estate account books show, however, that Darnley enlarged a number of his farms each by a small acreage from his purchases of land in this period, and that this rather than any change in land values accounts for the increase in rent.

The additions to Darnley's Kentish property between 1788 and 1820 were made in four main stages: eleven farms were purchased between 1790 and 1793, two in 1803-4, three in 1808-9, and nine between 1817 and 1820. The

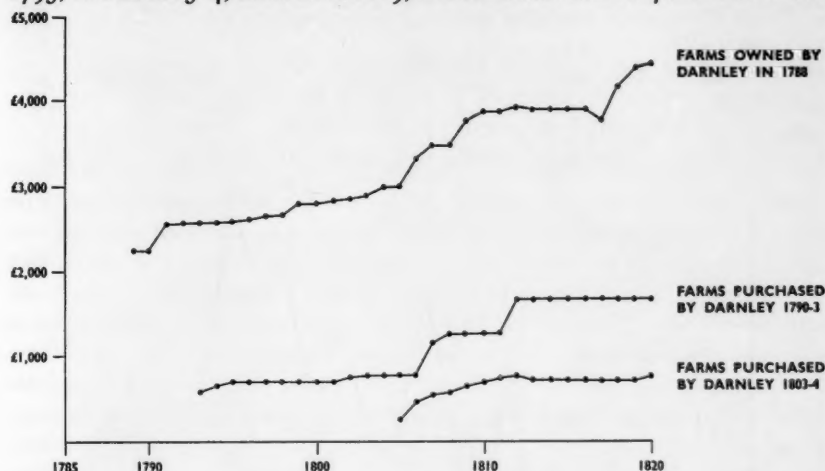


FIG. II
Lord Darnley's agricultural rent.

rents from the farms purchased up to 1804 have been traced in Fig. II and the annual average rate of increase shown in the following table.

	<i>Average annual rate of increase in rent</i>	
	<i>Farms purchased 1790-3</i>	<i>Farms purchased 1803-4</i>
1793-99	1.5%	—
1800-04	2.0%	—
1805-11	13.5%	6.6%
1812-15	nil	nil
1816-20	nil	1.4%

The course of rents on the newly acquired farms is similar to that on the farms already in Darnley's possession in 1788. The period of most rapid increase appears to have been 1805-11, while rents were generally stable after 1812.

Rents could be changed most quickly on farms held by tenants-at-will. Before 1815 many of Darnley's farms were, however, occupied by farmers holding leases of between seven and twelve years' duration,¹ and this tended to reduce the sensitivity of rents to prices. Nevertheless when the time came to renew a lease the enlarged income of the farmer was at least partly absorbed by an increase in rent. Two examples will show how the fortunes of farming changed and how Darnley's steward took every opportunity of seeing that the rent was at an economic level. In 1788 the tenant of Knight's Place Farm in Cobham paid £80 p.a. for some 200 acres. At the expiry of the lease in 1790 the rent was raised to £100 p.a. with a new lease for twelve years. In 1802 the rent was raised to £160 and the farmer was forced to accept a tenancy-at-will in place of his lease. Further rises in rent took place in rapid succession, to £180 p.a. in 1803 and to £230 p.a. in 1809 when a lease for twelve years was granted. By 1814 and 1815 the falling prices had forced the tenant to run up arrears on his high rent which had been contracted at the height of the boom, and he was forced to quit the farm. His successor contracted a lease in 1816 for twelve years at the same rent and was able to pay his way for three years during the partial recovery of prices. But in 1819 depression set in and the farmer found himself in difficulties. His arrears rose from £119 in 1819 to £461 in 1822, and Darnley was forced to give him a rebate of 25 per cent of his rent in 1823 to prevent him from sinking further into debt. A similar case was that of Ranscombe Farm (some 250 acres) in the parish of Cuxton where the changes of rent were as follows:

<i>Date</i>	<i>Rent</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Rent</i>
1788	£120	1808	£300
1790	£145	1812	£288 ²
1798	£180	1820	£200
1801	£200		

The reduction in rent at Michaelmas 1820 came after the tenant had piled up £657 in arrears, and Darnley was also compelled to grant a rebate in order to keep the farm occupied. The conversion of leaseholds to tenancies-

¹ It was normal for Kentish tenants to hold leases of from seven to fourteen years' duration.

² A reduction in rent took place in this year when the tenant agreed to pay the tithe which had previously been paid by the landlord.

at-will between 1795 and 1812 was evidently a move by Darnley to tap more quickly the increases in his tenants' incomes due to rising prices. Leases were only granted on terms which anticipated future rises in prices. Thus Darnley granted a twelve-year lease on Green Farm, some 400 acres in the parish of Shorne, in 1803, but the new tenant was forced to accept an enormous increase in rent from £194 to £350 p.a.¹

The height of prosperity in farming in north-west Kent appears, from the changes in agricultural rents, to have been in the years between 1805 and 1812. After 1812 corn prices began to fall sharply, and the uncertainty of the future at the end of the war is reflected in the terms of new agreements that were reached between landlord and tenants. After 1814 it was exceptional for a rent to be increased at the expiry of a lease.² In a number of cases leases were converted to tenancies-at-will, perhaps a precautionary measure in view of the varying forecasts of the future of corn prices. The fortunes of farmers varied according to the dates when their leases expired. Those farmers who contracted new terms for a lease, say, of twelve years or longer when prices were still rising rapidly, found themselves in serious difficulties by 1820; whereas those whose leases expired immediately after the war managed to escape an increase in rent and were thus less burdened during the ensuing depression. The state of anxiety amongst farmers even as early as 1813 is shown by the fact that Darnley agreed that the tenant of Wickham Farm, 266 acres in the parish of Wickham, should receive a rebate of £50 on his annual rent of £400 whenever the average price of wheat fell below £4 per quarter.³

The general apprehension at the end of the war was somewhat allayed during 1816, 1817, and 1818, when prices showed a mild recovery, but towards the end of 1819 corn prices began to fall (owing partly to a sudden importation of corn but mainly to good harvests) and continued to do so until they reached their nadir in 1822. The worst fears of depression were realized and petitions of distress poured into the Commons from farmers throughout the country. What was the reaction on the Darnley estate? Darnley's aggregate agricultural rent after 1820 has not been traced in Fig. II because the figures obtained would not be comparable with those at earlier dates. Darnley's steward was engaged in a considerable readjustment of the

¹ K.A.O. U565 A22a.

² Except where the size of the farm was increased as in the cases discussed above.

³ K.A.O. U565 A32a. It is interesting to note that according to a clause in a lease granted to another farmer ten years later the landlord agreed to give a rebate of £50 on a rent of £300 when the price of wheat fell below 52 shillings a quarter. The difference in the price of wheat to qualify the farmer for a rebate in 1813 compared to 1823 is indicative of the changed expectations of farmers and landlords.

estate: some farms were being split up and let off in small acreages, sometimes for non-agricultural purposes, other farms were being increased in size and much land was being bought and sold. Where, however, his original farms were left intact it is possible to trace the course of rents into the late 1820's and after. One inevitable development was that Darnley was forced to reduce rents on a number of farms in order to keep them in occupation during the depression. The following examples illustrate this.

<i>Farm</i>	<i>Size (acres)</i>	<i>Old rent</i>	<i>New rent</i>	<i>Year of reduction</i>
Cheney's Farm (Cuxton)	219	£286	£230	1823
High Birch Farm (Cuxton)	209	£180	£140	1823
Court Lodge & Whorne's Place Farms (Cuxton)	457	£430	£390	1823

Those farms on which reductions in rent were allowed were held by tenants-at-will. Rents paid by leaseholders could not be so quickly adjusted to the changed market prices. Darnley's steward was wise enough to realize, however, that if he held his tenants to their original bargain many of them would have to quit. Thus while nominal rents paid on unexpired leases remained constant throughout the depression, rebates were allowed to those farmers in severe distress. For example, the tenant of East Court Farm (Manor of East Chalk) was allowed a £60 rebate on his rent of £646 in 1820. In the following year a number of tenants were allowed rebates ranging from 15 per cent to 25 per cent "in consequence of all agricultural produce selling at prices below the expence of growing it."¹ Similar allowances were made in 1822 and 1823, some of the rebates rising to 30 per cent. This timely financial assistance by the landlord undoubtedly had the effect of saving his leasehold tenants from insolvency and enabling them to continue farming in the face of the depression. One tenant, the occupier of West Cliffe Court Farm (700 acres), had fallen behind on his rent to the extent of £650 in 1822, and a rebate of £725 enabled him to start with a clean slate in the following year. By 1824 the worst of the immediate depression had passed,² and Darnley no longer found it necessary to allow rebates on his rents. Many of the tenancies-at-will were converted to leaseholds once more, and leaseholders were being charged more realistic rents on the renewal of their contracts.

¹ K.A.O. U565 A40a.

² The recovery in prices in 1824 and 1825 was followed by another depression in the later 1820's. See G. E. Fussell and M. Compton, 'Agricultural adjustments after the Napoleonic Wars', *Economic History* (Supplement to the *Economic Journal*), III, No. 14, 1939, pp. 186 *et seq.*

We have seen how unpaid rent had to be written off by the landlord in the early 1820's. It is interesting to establish how far changes in the aggregate arrears of rent on Darnley's estate reflect changes in the prosperity of farming. The graph of arrears on agricultural land in Fig. III shows that, apart

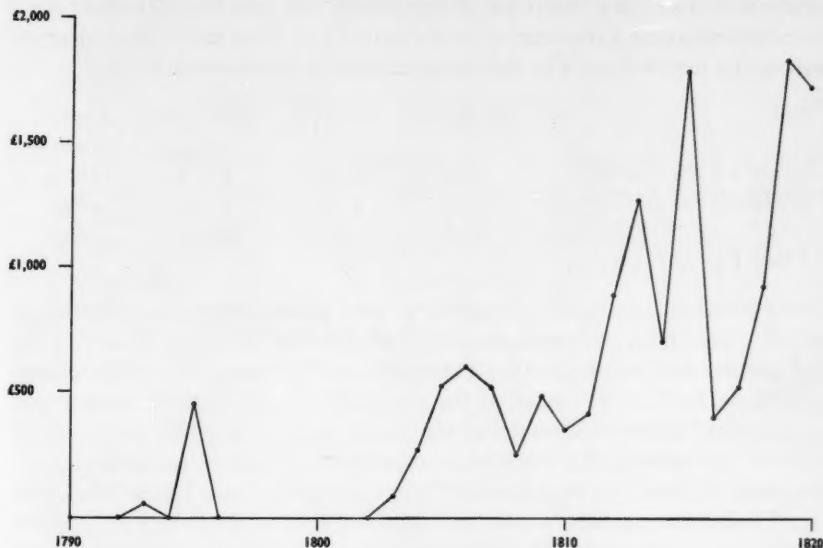


FIG. III

Rent arrears on Darnley's estate.

from the year 1795, arrears on the estate were negligible in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The £445 of farm rent arrears in 1795 can be attributed to the bad weather in the late summer of that year which delayed the harvest and compelled some farmers to be late in paying their rent. The increase in aggregate arrears in the first twelve years of the nineteenth century took place in a period of prosperity, and was mainly due to the inability of farmers to pay, in the first year or two, rents which had been scaled up in anticipation of further rises in agricultural prices. The arrears after 1812 are, however, of a more serious nature and are a truer reflection of the vicissitudes of that period. Farmers found it difficult to pay their rents when prices were falling; thus the level of arrears soared to over £1,700 in 1815 after three years of rapidly falling corn prices. Arrears rose again to a record height in 1819 after a sharp downward turn in corn prices. But the level of arrears did not always vary inversely with the price of corn even in the post-war years, since a late payment by a farmer, not always the result of an unfavourable

market for his produce, was entered as an arrear in the account book. Moreover, in the years between 1819 and 1823 arrears were kept down, and in some cases cleared up, by the rent rebate that Darnley allowed his tenants. Thus the level of arrears in each year is not always a reliable guide to the prosperity of farming.

Corn prices during the agricultural depression in the early 1820's were on average no lower than they had been in the 1780's and early 1790's; it was the difference in the farmers' costs between the two periods which largely explains the severity of the distress. We have seen how leaseholders were burdened with high rents contracted during the height of the boom ten years previously. John Lake, the Kentish witness before the Committee of 1821, mentions the failure of certain tradesmen such as blacksmiths and wheelwrights to reduce their charges.¹ The malt tax also bore heavily on the farmers since it was still the widespread practice to supply a quantity of beer free of charge to agricultural labourers.² One item of farmers' expenses, that of labourers' wages, can be traced in detail. Darnley's home farm, 378 acres in Cobham, was managed by the steward, and we may consider the wages paid by him at Cobham to reflect the general level paid by the farmers in the surrounding parishes. The following table shows the wages paid to day labourers employed on the farm at Cobham up to 1814. After 1815 wages of agricultural labourers paid by the day no longer appear in the estate books. But the wages of day labourers employed in the grounds of Cobham Hall are still recorded, and these may be taken as a guide to the wages of agricultural labourers since the two sets of wages were identical before 1815.

Day Wages of Male Agricultural Labourers on Darnley's Home Farm³

	<i>Winter</i>	<i>Summer</i>	<i>Harvest Period</i>
1790	1s. 6d.	1s. 8d.	2s. od.
1794	1s. 6d.	1s. 8d.	2s. od.
1797	2s. od.	2s. od.	2s. 4d.
1800	2s. od.	2s. od.	2s. 6d.
1803	2s. od.	2s. od.	2s. 6d.
1806	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.
1809	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.	3s. od.
1812	3s. od.	3s. od.	3s. od.
1814	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.	2s. 6d.

¹ British Parl. Papers, 1821, IX, p. 74.

² Poor rates were of course very much heavier in the 1820's compared with thirty years earlier, and this burden appears to have been shouldered by the tenants.

³ These figures do not include a daily allowance of beer received by the labourers.

Day Wages of Male Labourers employed by the Month in the Grounds of Cobham Hall¹

1815	2s. 6d. & 2s. od. ²	1821	2s. od. & 1s. 8d.
1817	2s. 6d. & 2s. od.	1823	1s. 8d. & 1s. 6d.
1819	2s. 3d.	1825	2s. 6d. & 2s. od.

The daily wages of labourers responded fairly swiftly to changes in the fortunes of farming. Money wages on Darnley's home farm rose between 4d. and 6d. per day in the middle of the 1790's and further rises of 6d. per day took place between 1803 and 1806 and between 1809 and 1812, the maximum rate of three shillings per day being reached in the latter year. By 1814 the diminishing prosperity of agriculture had its effect on labourers' wages which fell to 2s. 6d. per day. This rate was maintained during the next three years of uncertainty, but in 1819 the onset of depression resulted in another fall in wages, this time to 2s. 3d. per day. As the agricultural depression developed, wages were forced down until by 1823 they reached the level obtaining in 1790, although a recovery in corn prices in 1824 and 1825 enabled labourers to gain a higher rate once more. Thus, while the wages of day labourers rose by 100 per cent in the period of prosperity up to 1812,³ farmers were able to reduce them by the same extent in almost half the time during the harder times that followed.

The general conclusions drawn from the statistics presented in this article may be briefly summarized. We have seen that agricultural rent increased between 1788 and 1812, first at a fairly modest rate, but later, after 1805, very rapidly. The close correlation between rents and corn prices shows that the landlord was quick to participate in the 'unearned' increase in farmers' incomes. During the period of rapidly rising prices the landlord ensured his share in the growing prosperity of agriculture in two ways. Some farmers were required to pay high rents when their leases were renewed in anticipation of further price rises; others were forced to accept tenancies-at-will which were subject to frequent changes in rent. The good harvests between 1813 and 1815 called a halt to rising farming profits, and rents consequently ceased their upward trend. The comparative stability in rents continued in 1816, 1817, and 1818 (allowing for the increase in size of some farms) despite a mild recovery in prices and the Corn Law. In 1819 prices began to fall again and a severe depression set in lasting till 1824. Worst hit were those

¹ The figures do not include a daily allowance of beer received by the labourers.

² The lower rate was usually paid in the winter months after Christmas.

³ The rise in the wages of agricultural labourers between 1794 and 1812 was spectacular in view of the fact that they had scarcely changed during the previous ninety years.

tenants with leases dating from 1812 and earlier who could continue to farm their land only by eating into reserves or by piling up arrears of rent. Tenants with one-year contracts received immediate relief by a reduction in rent. Leaseholders were, however, less fortunately placed, but were relieved by abatements in their rent, up to thirty per cent in some cases, until their leases ran out or until the worst of the immediate depression was over. Thus while the landlord had been quick to profit by the scarcity of foodstuffs during the war and had been somewhat reluctant to reduce his rents after the peak of 1812, he had accepted the fact of lower land values by 1820. Re-adjustment to the changed circumstances was not achieved without considerable financial loss by the farmers. But tenants in difficulty between 1819 and 1823 were not evicted, since the landlord preferred to adopt a realistic attitude rather than see his land withdrawn from cultivation.¹

¹ This was usually the case. See, for example, Joan Thirsk and Jean Imray, *Suffolk Farming in the Nineteenth Century*, Suffolk Record Society, 1, 1958, pp. 96 *et seq.*

Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Devon

By DUNCAN MITCHELL

DEVON is an area of small farms. The tradition is not a new one, for Robert Fraser, writing toward the end of the eighteenth century, noted it. "Farms in general are small, from twenty to forty acres being the common run of the holdings in this county." But he observed that there were some changes. "Of late, the farmers are beginning to increase, and one farmer is sometimes found to occupy two, three, or more of these tenements; but I found very few farmers exceed two, or at most three hundred acres." There was, in his words, a "respectable class of yeomanry."¹ This tradition of independent small-holdings was, and still remains, strong. The question arises, however, how this class of small-holder was recruited. Some evidence is available to show

that it was not altogether a self-perpetuating class, but that it drew some of its members from the labourers.

To appreciate this factor of social mobility we have to note two things. First, during the nineteenth century farmers quite often changed their holdings. In the years following the Napoleonic wars the return on farm produce was small; but although rentals were repeatedly lowered by from 25 to 30 per cent, such reductions did not prevent a considerable movement among farmers from one holding to another and cheaper one.² In the later times of relative prosperity the movement was reversed. This geographical mobility in fact persisted down to 1939. Men did not always feel obliged to farm the same land as their forbears, although they seldom left

¹ Robert Fraser, *General View of the County of Devon*, 1794, p. 17.

² *Agricultural State of the Kingdom in February, March, and April 1816.*

the same district, unless it was to emigrate overseas.

Secondly, labourers' wages during the last quarter of the nineteenth century varied between eleven and twelve shillings per week. They had been tending to increase since the 1850's; thus in 1858 they were between seven and eight shillings in north Devon, and between eight and nine shillings in south Devon. Perquisites such as four pints of cider per week and eight quarts during the harvest time were included. By 1880 a good man might earn fifteen shillings per week, rather higher than for some other parts of southern England.

The combination of improving wages and available small-holdings for rental provided opportunities for social advancement. But just how was it accomplished? Two examples will be given by way of illustration; both are drawn from the South Hams area.

In 1880 a stonebreaker, whose father was a farm labourer earning fifteen shillings per week, was employed on the roads at an average wage of seventeen shillings. On this wage he saved enough to buy a horse and cart and so offer his services to the local authority as a carter of stones for road repairs. This enabled him to increase his income. He had all along kept a few fowls by his cottage for his own use and as an additional source of income, and to these he now added a cow, which he grazed in a small field he rented. By dint of frugal living and saving he was able to invest in some more livestock until he was in a position to rent a thirty-acre holding. Soon after this he gave up carting stones, and eventually after some years he moved to a fifty-acre holding. He had two sons who helped him on the farm. They were unpaid but received pocket money. In late middle-age he moved again to a farm of a hundred and fifty acres. He died just before the 1914 war, but both sons were set up as farmers, one taking over from his father, the other farming near by.

The second case is particularly interesting because of an apparently little-known practice. In 1880 a hind (or foreman) to a gentle-

man-farmer besides keeping some fowls and a few pigs of his own also hired several milking cows. This hiring of cattle was not uncommon in south Devon. Usually the farmer provided the use of a building as well as the cattle, and charged a rent, but the sale of the milk and butter, with skimmed milk being fed to pigs, provided a profit. As a hind this man earned four shillings above the normal labourer's wage, and this together with his profit from the cows enabled him in 1900 to rent a fifty-acre holding. At that time he had two sons aged fifteen and twelve years, and both helped him on the farm. Nine years later the younger son emigrated to Canada, where he became owner of a large ranch. On his departure the elder brother suggested to his father that he be made a partner, but this was refused. Instead he was given five shillings per week and his board. Later the elder son married, left home, and rented a small-holding of fourteen acres; his father gave him a calf and a pig. He was employed as a labourer on a nearby farm for fifteen shillings per week and farmed his own land in his spare time. By 1914 he possessed two cows, several pigs, and some fowls. He succeeded in raising a strain of pig for which there was a good local demand. Later he moved to a thirty-acre holding. His father continued to manage his own holding with the help of a daughter for a further twenty years after his son left him.

Thus rising real wages, new forms of employment both full-time and part-time offering chances of an improved income, and geographical mobility among small-holders, combined to provide opportunities for labourers during the latter part of the last century and the beginning of the present one. It may be noted in addition that the small-holder class, relying on family labour and used to frugality, was able to withstand economic depression much better than the larger farmer. Hence this alteration in social standing was very frequently maintained throughout the period between the wars.

Work in Progress

Compiled by JOAN THIRSK

The following list does not lay claim to completeness. It has been compiled from the particulars given in response to a letter circulated to universities, local history societies, and local record offices. It is hoped to publish similar lists from time to time, and the compiler will therefore be glad to receive any information concerning changes of subject and additions to this list.

ABERG, F. A., *Ipswich Museum, High Street, Ipswich.*

Roman agriculture and settlement in Hampshire.

Ancient fields in Hampshire.

ADAMS, ROBERT H., *c/o Isle of Wight River Board, County Hall Annexe, Newport, Isle of Wight.*

Bibliography of land drainage, irrigation, reclamation of fen and tidal lands, and warping, in Great Britain and Ireland.

AGATE, R. G., *12 Wilton Grove, Wimbledon, London, S.W.19.*

The Surrey evidence bearing on the causes, nature, and consequences of the disturbances in certain agricultural areas in 1830-1.

ALLISON, KEITH, *57 Huntington Road, York.*

York common lands and strays.

ALLISON, R., *71 Shirley Avenue, Sutton, Surrey.*

The changing landscape of S.W. Essex, 1600-1850.

ANSTEE, J. W., *Museum of English Rural Life, 7 Shinfield Road, Reading.*

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ATKINSON, FRANK, *Bankfield Museum, Halifax.*

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Material objects relating to the Pennine way of life from the seventeenth century.

ATTWOOD, E. A., *Department of Agricultural Economics, University Coll. of Wales, Aberystwyth.*

The rate of change in the structure of British agriculture, 1870-1914.

AULT, WARREN O., *Boston University, U.S.A.*

Medieval agrarian bye-laws.

BARLEY, M. W., *Department of Extra-mural Studies, Nottingham University.*

Rural housing.

BARNES, F. A., *Department of Geography, Nottingham University.*

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BATHO, G. R., *Department of Education, Sheffield University.*

The management of Crown and lay estates in the period 1500-1640.

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BATLEY, Mrs L., *Department of Latin, Sheffield University.*

The manor of Tinsley in the seventeenth century (from the Wentworth-Woodhouse Papers).

BEAVINGTON, F., *39 Snow Hill, Maulden, Bedford.*

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BELLERBY, J. R., *Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Parks Road, Oxford.*

Historical economic statistics bearing on agriculture and its relationship to the rest of the economy.

- BERESFORD, MAURICE W., *Department of Economics and Commerce, Leeds University*.
Pre-Parliamentary enclosure, 1597-1750.
- BEST, R. H., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Wye College, near Ashford, Kent*.
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- BIRCH, J. W., *Department of Geography, Bristol University*.
The geography and recent history of agriculture in England, Wales, and the Isle of Man.
- BOAL, F. W., *Department of Conservation, School of Natural Resources, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan, U.S.A.*
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- BONHAM-CARTER, VICTOR, *Broomball, East Anstey, Tiverton, Devon*.
Bonham-Carter family records, 1700-1950.
- BOUCH, Canon C. M. L., *Clifton Rectory, near Penrith, Cumberland (in collaboration with JONES, Professor G. P.)*.
A general social and economic history of the Lake counties from Tudor times to the nineteenth century.
- BOWDEN, P. J., *Department of Economics, Sheffield University*.
Rents, agricultural prices, and profits, 1450-1640.
- BUCHANAN, R. H., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast*.
The 1801 crop returns in Northern Ireland.
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- BUCHANAN, R. H., and PROUDFOOT, V. B., *The Queen's University, Belfast, and JOHNSON, J. H., University College, London*.
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- BURKE, T., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University*.
Aspects of the population geography of county Cork since c. 1750.
- BURNETT, JOHN, *Clarence Lodge, Hampton Court, Surrey*.
Food and its adulteration in the nineteenth century.
- BURRELL, Miss E. D. R., *54 Church Crescent, Muswell Hill, London, N.10*.
The reclamation of the Suffolk Sandlings from 1750 to the present day.
- CAIRD, J. B., and MOISLEY, H. A., *Department of Geography, Glasgow University, and SMITH, Miss C. B., Carnegie Research Assistant*.
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- COLE, Mrs GLADYS M., *Department of History, Liverpool University*.
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- COLLINS, Miss JOAN, *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
Some aspects of rural settlement in Berkshire.
- COPPOCK, J. T., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
The agricultural geography of the Chilterns from 1866 to the present day.
Farm size in Buckinghamshire, 1866-1941.
- COSSEY, F., 32 *West Parade, Peterborough.*
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- COULL, JAMES, *Department of Geography, Aberdeen University.*
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- COUSENS, S. H., *Department of Geography, University College of Swansea.*
Ireland, 1845-1950.
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- CUNNINGHAM, GRIFFITHS L., 49 *Huddleston Road, London, N.7.*
The changing landscape of the Dorset heathlands, 1600 to the present day (London Ph.D. thesis).
- CUTTING, D. J., *Department of Geography, Leeds University.*
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- DAVIES, Mrs C. S., *Durness, Robin Lane, Sutton, Macclesfield, Cheshire.*
The history of the manor of Withington, Manchester. Enclosure of the open fields and common.
- DODD, J. PHILIP, *Hampton Loade, Alveley, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.*
Agriculture of the West Midlands in the nineteenth century.
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- DONKIN, R. A., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*
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- DOUCH, ROBERT, *Institute of Education, Southampton University.*
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- DUNN, J. M., *St Catherine's College, Oxford.*
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- DURY, G., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
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- ELLIOTT, G. G., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
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- EMERY, FRANK, *School of Geography, Oxford.*
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- EVANS, Professor E. ESTYN, *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast.*
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- EVERITT, ALAN, *Department of English Local History, Leicester University*.
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- EYRE, S. R., *Department of Geography, Leeds University*.
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- FAITH, MRS ROSAMOND, *Department of English Local History, Leicester University*.
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- FARMER, D. L., *Exeter College, Oxford*.
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The Duchy of Cornwall estates in 1337.
Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries.
- FARR, M. W., *School of History, Birmingham University*.
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- FLETCHER, T. W., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Manchester University*.
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- FORBES, J., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast*.
Changes in crop acreages from 1851 to 1953 in Northern Ireland.
- FORSTER, GORDON C. F., *School of History, Leeds University*.
County administration in Yorkshire in the seventeenth century.
- FOUNTAIN, K. E., *Department of Geography, Leeds University*.
The effects of enclosure upon the cultural landscape and rural population structure in parts of Cambridgeshire.
- FRASER, A. STEWART, *Department of Geography, Aberdeen University*.
Geographical and pedological problems affecting crofting in the Shetland Islands.
- FULLER, Miss G. J., *Department of Geography, Nottingham University*.
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- FUSSELL, G. E., 55 *York Road, Sudbury, Suffolk*.
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- GAILEY, R. A., *Department of Geography, Glasgow University*.
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- GLASSCOCK, R. E., *Department of Geography, University College, London*.
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- GRAMOLT, D. W., 17 *Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, N.W.3.*
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- GRANT, Mrs B. F., 78 *Twynford Avenue, London, W.3.*
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- GULLEY, J. L. M., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
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- HABAKKUK, Professor H. J., *All Souls College, Oxford.*
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- HALLAM, H. E., 41 *Arthur Street, Loughborough, Leicestershire.*
The medieval fenland.
- HALLAM, Mrs SYLVIA J., 41 *Arthur Street, Loughborough, Leicestershire.*
The Romano-British fenland.
- HARLEY, J. B., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
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- HARRIS, A., *Department of Geography, Hull University.*
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- HARRISON, B. J. D., *Wadham College, Oxford.*
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- HARVEY, D. W., *St John's College, Cambridge.*
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- HARVEY, P. D. A., *St John's College, Cambridge.*
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- HAVINDEN, MICHAEL E., *Magdalen College, Oxford.*
The rural economy of Oxfordshire, 1580-1730.
- HENDERSON, H. C. K., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
The 1801 crop returns.
- HILTON, RODNEY, *School of History, Birmingham University.*
Agrarian development in the West Midlands, 1280-1535.
- HOCKEY, Rev. S. F., *Quarr Abbey, Isle of Wight.*
Medieval Quarr Abbey and its estates, mainly I.W.
- HOPKINS, E., 81 *Berengrave Lane, Rainham, Gillingham, Kent.*
The Bridgewater estates in North Shropshire in the first half of the seventeenth century.
- HOPKINS, M. W., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
The Lea valley glasshouse industry.
- HOPKINS, P. G. H., *Joint Committee for Adult Education, Southampton University.*
The rise and fall of water-meadow irrigation in Britain.
- HOUSTON, GEORGE, *Department of Political Economy, Glasgow University.*
The history of the Scottish farm worker.

HOWELLS, B. E., *St John's College, Cambridge.*

The medieval colonization of South Wales.

HUNT, H. G., *Department of Commerce, Woolwich Polytechnic, S.E.18.*

Landownership, rents, and wages in south-east England during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

HUNT, T. J., *Orchard End, Pyrland, Taunton, Somerset.*

History of the manor of Taunton in the thirteenth century, chiefly from the Pipe Rolls of the Bishopric of Winchester.

JAMES, J. M., *St Catherine's College, Oxford.*

The small farm in a changing economy. A study of the small farm in England and Wales in its relationship to the agricultural policy of the United Kingdom.

JENKINS, J. G., *Museum of English Rural Life, 7 Shinfield Road, Reading.*

The evolution and regional characteristics of farm transport.

A study of rural crafts.

See also under JEWELL, C. A.

JENNINGS, BERNARD, *2 Conan Gardens, Richmond, Yorks.*

Economic history of Swaledale.

JEWELL, C. A., and JENKINS, J. G., and FULLER, MARGARET, *Museum of English Rural Life, 7 Shinfield Road, Reading, Berks.*

A survey of economic, social, and cultural developments in a Berkshire parish.

JOHN, ARTHUR, *London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2.*

The prices of animal products in England, 1700-1850.

JOHNSON, J. H., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*

The historical geography of co. Londonderry in the nineteenth century.

See also under BUCHANAN, R. H.

JONES, Miss E. I. M., *Monkswood, Kingsley, Bordon, Hants.*

The reclamation of the Bagshot heaths.

JONES, E. L., *Department of Agriculture, Parks Road, Oxford.*

Evolution of high farming in Herefordshire, 1815-65 (Oxford B.Litt. thesis).

Agriculture in the Wessex chalklands, 1660-1860.

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Changes in Welsh agriculture and some current problems of agricultural progress (with particular reference to Central Wales).

JONES, Professor G. P., *c/o Department of Economics, Sheffield University.*

The population of Cumberland and Westmorland in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.

See also under BOUCH, Canon C. M. L.

JONES, GLANVILLE R. J., *Department of Geography, Leeds University.*

Land settlement, tenure, and colonization in the Colwyn-Clwyd district of north Wales.

JONES, I. E., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*

Rural settlement studies in Brittany.

JONES, PETER E., *Department of Geography, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*

Changes in land utilization in Uwchgwyrfai (1750-1956).

JONES, T. I. JEFFREYS, *Coleg Harlech, Llys Brantwen, Harlech, Merioneth.*

Welsh agriculture, 1700-1900, with special reference to the enclosure movement.

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Agrarian development in the Banff district.
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Dorset field names and the agricultural revolution.
- KERRIDGE, ERIC, *Acre End, Tilsworth, Leighton Buzzard, Beds*.
English agrarian history in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries.
- KIDDLE, D. F. A., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London*.
The changing landscape of north-west Middlesex.
- KINVIG, Professor R. H., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University*.
Agricultural geography of the West Midlands.
- LAMBERT, A. M., *Department of Geography, London School of Economics, Aldwych, London, W.C.2*.
Changes in settlement patterns following land reclamation in the Netherlands and Denmark.
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Population distribution, structure, and movement in nineteenth-century England.
- LINTON, A. E., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast*.
Traditional forms of rural settlement in Ireland and Western Britain.
- LONDON, Miss VERA, *Department of History, Liverpool University*.
The cartulary and extents of Canonsleigh Priory.
- LONG, W. HARWOOD, *Department of Agriculture, Leeds University*.
Yorkshire farming in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries.
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Studies in the settlement geography of Hertfordshire.
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The population of the parishes of Tongue and Farr with special reference to the changes in distribution resulting from the Clearances (Ph.D. thesis).
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Geographical aspects of transport in northern Scotland.
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Land utilization in the Dee valley.
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Studies in the social and economic structure of the English peasantry in the fifteenth century.
- MARTIN, J. M., *Faculty of Commerce, Birmingham University*.
Changes in landownership, land utilization, and agricultural income in the West Midlands, 1785-1825 (M.Comm. thesis).
- MASON, Mrs KATE M., *Reynard Ing, Ilkley, Yorks*.
History of cheesemaking in Britain.
- MCCORD, NORMAN, *Department of Modern History, King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne*.
The activities and organization of the Anti-Corn Law League, 1838-46.
- McHUGH, B. J., *Department of Geography, St Patrick's Training College, Drumcondra, Dublin*.
Land use and rural settlement in co. Tyrone and co. Fermanagh.

- MEAD, W., *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
The hedgerow in Buckinghamshire.
Rural survey in Finland, 1750-1850.
- MILLS, DENNIS R., *6 Byron Street, Barwell, near Leicester.*
Land use and settlement in Kesteven, c. 1700-c. 1850.
- MILLS, F. D., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Reading University.*
National Union of Agricultural Workers: a study of trade union organization in British agriculture.
- MINGAY, GORDON, *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2.*
Landownership and agrarian trends in the eighteenth century, based on the Duke of Kingston's estates.
- MITCHELL, PETER K., *Geography Department, Fourah Bay College, Freetown, Sierra Leone.*
History of land use from c. 1600 to date in the West Cleveland area of the North Riding.
- MOISLEY, H. A. *See under CAIRD, J. B.*
- MONTEITH, Miss DOROTHY, *8 Maddox Road, Hemel Hempstead, Herts.*
The estates of Walden Abbey.
- MOORE, D. C., *Brentwood Place, R.D., Vestal, New York, U.S.A.*
The relation between high farming and the anti-corn law movement.
- MORGAN, COLIN, *Department of Geography, University College of Wales, Aberystwyth.*
Study of enclosure patterns in Caernarvonshire and Merionethshire.
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The reclamation of the Hampshire chalklands.
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The village and manor of Coleshill, Berkshire, 1500-1700.
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Thaxted in the fourteenth century.
- OLDFIELD, F., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
Physical evolution and reclamation of Mossland.
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Climate and farming in Anglesey in the first part of the eighteenth century.
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Treatises on estate management and farming in the Middle Ages.
- OWEN, ARTHUR E., *Flat 4, 24 East Heath Road, London, N.W.3.*
Land drainage and reclamation in the marsh district of Lindsey.
- PARKER, R. A. C., *Queen's College, Oxford.*
Agricultural history of East Anglia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
Income and estates of Coke, Townshend, Walpole, and other East Anglian noble families in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
The eighteenth-century lease.
The incidence of the land tax in the eighteenth century.
- PAWSON, Professor H. C., *University School of Agriculture, King's College, Newcastle-upon-Tyne.*
The agriculture of Northumberland (for the R.A.S.E. series).

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Dorset agricultural history.
- PELHAM, R. A., *The Court House, West Meon, Hampshire*.
Agricultural geography of the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.
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Land reform movements in nineteenth-century Britain.
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An investigation into human influences on marsh development in the Burry estuary, South Wales.
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The smaller domestic architecture in the Oxford region, fifteenth to early eighteenth centuries.
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The agrarian economy in the Middle Ages.
- POSTGATE, M. R., *17 Maresfield Gardens, Hampstead, London, N.W.3*.
The historical geography of the East Anglian breckland prior to 1850.
- PRINCE, HUGH, *Department of Geography, University College, London*.
Parkland in England.
A life of Richard Woods of Essex, a late eighteenth-century landscape gardener.
- PROUDFOOT, V. B., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast*.
Soils and early agriculture.
See also under BUCHANAN, R. H.
- RAEBURN, JOHN R., *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2*.
Responses of British agriculture to price and cost changes since 1870.
- RAWSON, R. R., *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2*.
The interpretation of rural land use from air photographs.
- REVELL, S., *85 Bedale Road, Nottingham*.
Fourteenth-century court roll of Mansfield, Notts.
- REYNOLDS, B., *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, London*.
Late medieval Dorset.
- RHYS-RANKIN, Capt. Sir HUGH, *Green Lane, Bryngwyn, via Kington, Herefordshire*.
Welsh cattle droving during the turnpike era from west and central Wales to England.
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The estates of St Swithun's Priory, Winchester.
- ROWE, JOHN, *Department of Modern History, Liverpool University*.
Cornish agricultural history in the nineteenth century.
- RUSSELL, REX, *11 Priestgate, Barton-on-Humber, Lincs*.
Agricultural unionism and the agricultural labourer in nineteenth-century Lincolnshire.
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The history of sheep from an examination of wool fibres remaining in ancient parchment.
A study of the medieval animal remains from St John's Priory, Pontefract, Wharram Percy, and a site in Petergate, York.

- SCHOVE, D. JUSTIN, *St David's College, 29 South Eden Park Road, Beckenham, Kent.*
The weather and climatic fluctuations in England and Europe in relation to economic activity, A.D. 800-1700.
- SENIOR, M. W., *Department of Geography, Leeds University.*
The development of the land utilization pattern in Assynt parish and in Barra.
- SHAW, DAVID H., 28 *Brantwood Road, Luton, Bedfordshire.*
Surviving dialect in six villages in south Bedfordshire.
- SHEPPARD, Miss JUNE A., *Department of Geography, Queen Mary College, London.*
Rural settlement in East Yorkshire.
- SHORTER, A. H., *Department of Geography, Exeter University.*
Field patterns in England.
- SHRIMPTON, C., *Trinity Hall, Cambridge.*
A regional study into the decline of the smaller owner-occupier during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries in East Anglia.
- SIMPSON, E. S., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
The nineteenth-century agrarian history of the Cheshire dairying region.
Agrarian development in the Wern district of North Shropshire.
- SINCLAIR, J. D., *London School of Economics, London, W.C.2.*
Economic and social factors bearing upon changing patterns of land use.
- SMEE, Miss D. K., *Department of Geography, Bedford College, London.*
Soil and slope, and ridge and furrow in a Northamptonshire parish.
- SMITH, Miss C. B. *See under CAIRD, J. B.*
- SPRING, DAVID, *Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, U.S.A.*
The English landed estate, 1790-1850.
- STANLEY, M. J., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*
Studies in the historical geography of Warwickshire for the period c. 1300 to 1500.
- STEDMAN, M. B., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*
Studies of land use and settlement in the Forest of Feckenham, Worcestershire.
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Some medieval accounts of Lenton Priory.
- STURMAN, Mother MARY WINIFRIDE, *Ursuline Convent, Chester.*
Barking Abbey: A study of its internal and external administration from the Conquest to the Dissolution.
- SWALES, T. H., *The Jolly Farmers, Yaxham Road, East Dereham, Norfolk.*
The distribution of the monastic estates in Norfolk, c. 1520-40.
The position of the Norfolk gentry, c. 1530-80.
- SYLVESTER, Miss DOROTHY, *Department of Geography, Manchester University.*
The rural landscape of the Welsh borderland.
The manor and the Cheshire landscape.
- THIRSK, Mrs JOAN, *Department of English Local History, Leicester University.*
The agrarian history of England in the sixteenth century.
- THOMAS, DAVID, *Department of Geography, University College, London.*
The agriculture of Wales at the turn of the eighteenth century.

- THOMAS, E. G., 46 *Washington Road, Maldon, Essex.*
The operation of the Poor Law in Essex, Berks., and Oxon., with special reference to labour migration, apprenticeship, and medical treatment.
- THOMPSON, F. M. L., *Department of History, University College, London.*
Nineteenth-century English landed estates.
Wiltshire agriculture, 1870-1955.
- THORPE, H., *Department of Geography, Birmingham University.*
Comparative studies of forms and patterns of rural settlement in the British Isles and Europe.
The evolution of settlement and land use in the West Midlands generally, and in Warwickshire in particular.
- THORPE, Miss SYBIL, *St Hilda's College, Oxford.*
Monastic lands in Leicestershire at the Dissolution.
- TITOW, J. Z., *Fitzwilliam House, Cambridge.*
The estates of the Bishops of Winchester in the thirteenth century.
- TURNER, DEREK, *Oriel College, Oxford.*
The population of England in the sixteenth century.
- VASS, J. G., *Department of Geography, Birkbeck College, London.*
Agricultural geography of the western part of the High Weald.
- VICKERY, ALAN V., *Agricultural Economics Research Institute, Parks Road, Oxford.*
Agricultural policies and programmes in England and Wales, 1900-21.
- VOLLANS, Miss ELEANOR C., *Department of Geography, Bedford College, London.*
Agriculture in the Chilterns in the late Middle Ages.
- VOSE, E. K., *Court House Flat, Upton-on-Severn, Worcs.*
The administration and economic development of the estates of Worcester priory.
- WALKER, Miss F. R., *Department of Agricultural Economics, Manchester University.*
Home-produced and imported supplies of food since 1820.
- WHITTINGTON, G., and WOOD, P. D., *Department of Geography, Reading University.*
Strip lynchets at Horton, near Devizes, Wilts.
- WILDING, J. R., 1 *Highgate Drive, Dronfield, near Sheffield.*
East Anglian agriculture from 1793-1914 (Sheffield Ph.D. thesis).
- WILLIAMS, MICHAEL, 2 *Garden Cottages, Framilode, Saul, Glos.*
The draining of the Somerset Levels.
- WILSON, C. P. H., *Peddar's Way, East Wretham, Thetford, Norfolk.*
A short history of the peach, and a treatise on its cultivation as a bush tree in the orchard and garden, together with an anthology.
- WILSON, M. J., *Department of Geography, The Queen's University, Belfast.*
History and present status of Conacre.
- WITNEY, D., *Department of Economics, The Edinburgh and East of Scotland College of Agriculture, Edinburgh.*
The Scottish agricultural economy, 1850-1950.
- WOOD, P. D., *Department of Geography, Reading University.*
Strip lynchets and other ancient fields.
See also under WHITTINGTON, G.
- YOUD, G., *Department of Geography, Liverpool University.*
Common land and enclosure in Lancashire.

Book Reviews

ROBERT REDFIELD, *Peasant Society and Culture*. University of Chicago Press, 1956. viii+164 pp. 21s.

We in Britain readily apply the word peasantry to the cultivators of Monsoon Asia and parts of Europe, but would exclude, for the most part, those of the New World. It may cause surprise, therefore, to find an analysis of peasant society appearing from the capital city of the Corn Belt. But it must be remembered that American anthropologists have long turned to Central America to study rural communities, that it was there that "anthropology moved from tribe to peasantry," and that Robert Redfield was one of the most distinguished social anthropologists in the New World.

He points out that anthropology, having begun by studying culture in the abstract, went on to pile up analyses of specific cultures ranging from primitive isolates to urban minorities and peasant communities in Europe, Asia, and Latin America, and is now ready to return to levels of abstraction remote from the terrain of particular research. His definition of a peasantry will be generally accepted: subsistence cultivators, deeply attached to the land by sentiment as well as use, for whom agriculture is a way of life, not a business for profit. Peasant values include a reverent disposition towards ancestral ways, a restraint on individual self-seeking as against family and community, a suspicion of urban life. He goes on to define a peasantry as a part-society, necessarily associated with an élite—gentry and townsfolk—with whom its relations are of three kinds. First there are territorial links composed of units of area building up to a region or nation; secondly there are economic links working through markets and fairs; thirdly there is the network of kinship and friendship linking village with village. In these three ways the primitive isolate is transformed into a peasantry. But we need to know also what causes the transformation. Does it always follow the use of manure or fallowing

and the fixity of agricultural settlement?

It is implied that villages are the characteristic form of peasant settlement, and it is not clear whether a peasantry can survive dispersion. Nor is there discussion of the small joint-family settlement-unit of Celtic lands, though I imagine Redfield would include it in his definition. Essentially, "the peasant has given his heritage to the fortunes of a society and mode of life that is both like his and yet alien to it." The Old World peasantries, he thinks, arose as towns spread into tribal territories, but this is to deny the status of peasant to the pre-Roman population of France or to the pre-medieval population of Ireland. Presumably Redfield would allow a pre-urban élite to act in the same way. He is cautious of generalizations and wisely concludes that the relations with 'a great tradition' take different forms in different times and places. It is useful to have this thoughtful survey of peasant society to which the local student of rural life can turn for stimulating ideas.

E. E. EVANS

A. L. POOLE (ed.), *Medieval England*. Oxford University Press, 1958. xxviii+xiv+662 pp. in 2 volumes, illustrated. 70s.

These two handsome volumes are the third and newest embodiment of a work which appeared first in 1902 under the title *Companion to English History*. Re-edited in 1924, it has now again been almost completely rewritten. Dr A. L. Poole has assembled a team of eighteen experts to deal with as many different subjects, and himself rounds off the performance with a fascinating chapter on Recreations.

As Professor Carus-Wilson remarks in her fine paper on Towns and Trade, England throughout the centuries covered by these volumes seemed to foreign visitors "incurably rural." And although London claimed the respect even of those who knew Venice and Florence, there was justification for this view. Hence one might reasonably expect to

find at least as much space devoted to rural economy as has been allotted to Military Architecture, for example, or Heraldry. Crops and field systems are surely of more fundamental importance than either of these themes. Yet arable and pastoral husbandry are, if not totally neglected, at any rate dismissed with only incidental references. What little is said about them will be found mostly in the opening chapter, entitled *The English Landscape*. This is contributed by Dr W. G. Hoskins, who in thirty-four masterly pages distils the essence of what he and others have written elsewhere on the changing aspects of our countryside. But even Dr Hoskins has not altogether shaken off the habit—a convenient one, admittedly, for the historian—of implying that the Anglo-Saxons colonized an empty land. We are left with the impression that there was a period of roughly a hundred years before their coming, during which the inhabitants of Britain, if there were any, subsisted mainly on grass and acorns. Dr Hoskins is prepared to admit that the English settlers may sometimes have laid out their open fields on the derelict ploughland of Roman-British villa estates, but he concludes: "It yet remains to be proved that any English village has had a continuous existence since Romano-British times." How, one may ask, would he himself *prove* the continuous existence of a village which appears for the first time in a Saxon charter of the eighth century, reappears in Domesday Book three hundred years later, and is then again lost to view until the thirteenth century?

H. P. R. FINBERG

G. R. ELTON (ed.), *The New Cambridge Modern History*. Vol. II: *The Reformation*. Cambridge University Press, 1958. 686 pp. 37s. 6d.

In the general introduction to the first volume of the *New Cambridge Modern History* Sir G. N. Clark said that the series had been planned not as "an abstract or scale-reduction of all our knowledge of the period, but as a coherent body of judgement true to the facts." Since space is so extremely cramped that in-

terpretation is given precedence over facts if there is not room for both, most of these volumes will be consulted as guides to the present state of various historical questions rather than as repositories of historical facts clearly organized and indexed, which made the old *Cambridge Modern* so invaluable. The usefulness of the present series has been further lessened by the decision to omit bibliographies, references, and footnotes. Readers of the AGRICULTURAL HISTORY REVIEW should therefore be warned that they may expect to be told that peasant clearances in Devon and Lincolnshire have been studied, but not by whom, or be given the latest report on the change-over to agricultural production for the market in the words: "Ashley already pointed out—and the more recent researches of Hoskins, Hallam, Beresford, Finberg, Rawson, Chapman, and others have developed more firmly."

Each volume of the new series has been entrusted to an independent editor who is responsible for an introductory chapter. Here Dr Elton has given a masterly opening survey, asking whether the "Age of the Reformation" can be said to represent any coherent period, and coming to the conclusion that the years 1520–60 may still be regarded as a time of decisive significance in European history. With this established, the volume moves on to its more specialized chapters, and it is a sign of the importance now attached to economic history that the first should deal with economic change, before coming to studies of Luther and the Swiss reformers, sections on doctrinal controversy, the rise of the new religious orders, the empire of Charles V, the Habsburg-Valois struggle. These are followed by the less central, but by no means less enthralling, themes: intellectual tendencies, changes in political thought, developments in armies and the art of war, and finally short surveys of the Ottoman Empire, Russia, the New World, and the Orient.

The 46 pages which have been allocated to the chapter entitled 'Economic Change' have been divided between Friedrich Lutge, Professor of Economic History and Economics

in the University of Munich, who deals with agriculture, and Professor S. T. Bindoff of London who writes on the greatness of Antwerp. Since nothing appeared on agriculture in the first volume it was thought advisable to make this a general introductory survey of changes in agrarian structure, and the greater part of the space is therefore taken up with extremely general discussion (which at times devolves into such clichés as "the soil is not only an economic medium, it is also man's living space") or with a survey of the emancipation of serfs or the development of a money economy from Carolingian times to the fifteenth century. The seven pages devoted to English agriculture suffer like deprivation, for about half the space available is spent discussing commutation, the Black Death, "the dissolution of the feudal system which of course stood in the way of a rational economy." Since the price rise was dealt with in the previous volume, the growing importance of market production or the investment of merchants and industrialists in land are considered without reference to it. Nothing of importance is said concerning such burning topics as the disposal of monastic property, or the rising or declining fortunes of the gentry. We can only hope, as Dr Elton promises us in one of those rare footnotes to which he alone as editor is entitled, that social and economic changes will receive more adequate treatment in the appropriate sections of the *Cambridge Economic History*.

E. A. L. MOIR

R. CUNLIFFE SHAW, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster*. The Guardian Press, 127 Fishergate, Preston, 1956. 550 pp. £6 6s. "The forests and chases of Lancashire and Bowland have been depicted as a barren and inhospitable waste occupied by a few herdsmen and foresters; a wilderness over which the deer roamed at large, a region remote from organized medieval society. This impression is soon dispelled when we consider the complex system of instauration with its precise methods of accountancy to include the smallest items of revenue and expenditure. . . From

the twelfth century onwards there emerges the pattern of a well-organized and competent agricultural community." These sentences from the concluding paragraphs of Dr Shaw's book indicate the theme of his work. It is concerned with every aspect of the history of the Lancashire forest from late Saxon times to the end of the nineteenth century, the last two centuries being dealt with more briefly. But its most valuable contribution to agrarian history is to put the beasts of the forest in their proper place, to define the relatively small areas in which they were preserved for the pleasures of the chase, and to examine the economy of the other larger areas over which forest law prevailed, but where the ordinary business of farming was carried on despite it.

The Norman concept of the forest as a jealously guarded preserve for the recreation of the court is a concept so alien to our own experience that it is difficult to grasp all its implications. Was it not equally alien to the communities already inhabiting the forest region, and if so, by what methods was the law, in its simple early form, imposed upon them? These are not just idle speculations, for as Dr Shaw shows in one of the most thought-provoking chapters in the book ("The Pre-Conquest Origins of Husbandry in the Forest Zone of Lancashire") there were communities in the forest area with their village fields and meadows long before the Norman Conquest. Did the law as it was enforced in the early years of Norman rule encroach but little on existing rights? Was it only later, as population grew, and the law was more effectively enforced, that the restrictions proved so irksome?

Dr Shaw accepts as a fact without question that the Celtic communities of Lancashire survived the Roman occupation and the Anglo-Saxon and Norse invasions, and he attempts to trace the way in which Celtic forms of land allotment gradually took on their medieval pattern of selions and furlongs. Much of this account, of course, is guesswork; not all of it is crystal clear; some of it is definitely wrong (Dr Shaw seems to think

that in the open fields of the Anglo-Saxons the strips were re-allotted annually. I do not think there is any certain proof of this); some of it is hotly debatable. But there are some fascinating comparisons between Welsh, Irish, Manx, and Scottish arrangements and those of Lancashire which make as good a starting-point as any for fresh reflections on the origin of English field systems. In certain elementary particulars, Lancashire field arrangements in the Middle Ages were reminiscent of the Midland open-field system. But they were also subtly different. There were scattered strips but they lay in many smallish fields, not in two or three large ones. There were closes, but they too were often divided into strips and held by different tenants. These two peculiarities are found in other counties besides Lancashire. Do they perhaps suggest that the custom of partible inheritance has worked its effects on formerly consolidated farms, and has produced a collection of small pieces of land (or strips) lying in former fields (or furlongs)? The nomenclature may well have submitted itself finally to Anglo-Saxon influence. The crucial test, which would differentiate the Lancashire from the Midland field system, is whether the tenants had common rights over all the arable land. Dr Shaw does not pursue the problem far enough to settle this question. He seems to take for granted a custom of partible inheritance but without considering its practical consequences. And the full extent of common rights is not discussed, perhaps for lack of definite evidence. What is quite certain is that the existence of selions and furlongs in the medieval fields of Lancashire is not alone enough to prove that a Midland-type open-field system was practised here. Indeed, if Dr Shaw is right, and the land allotment derives from Celtic origins, then it would be surprising if the medieval pattern were not much more complicated than the Midland one.

The remainder of the book, which is concerned with gradual changes in the use of forest land, reveals interesting regional differences in the farming of the county: vaccaries

or cattle stations in the uplands, sheep-keeping on the marshes, corn-growing in the south-east of the county. The administration of the forest is also explained in detail.

This is a mammoth book with over five hundred large pages of text. Some may criticize its great length, for the sharpness of its conclusions are blurred by excessive detail. On the other hand, there will be others who will find the abundance of documents mentioned in the text of great value, provided they can interpret correctly the very brief and often very carelessly constructed footnote references. But no one will begrudge Dr Shaw—one of a small but distinguished group of medical men who take their leisure in archive offices—thanks and praise for a thorough and in many ways stimulating piece of local history.

JOAN THIRSK

LORD RENNELL OF RODD, *Valley on the March. A History of a Group of Manors on the Herefordshire March of Wales*. Oxford University Press, 1958. xvi + 298 pp., illus. 42s. Lord Rennell, who is a geographer and a farmer, writes in this book that "the study of geography and topography can . . . contribute a great deal to history" but that "without detailed local knowledge of fields, hedges, paths, even trees and soil, a great deal of historical information may be missed by students who have not the opportunities which a farmer in the course of his daily work can glean." Those of us who try to be agrarian historians without being farmers are only too acutely aware of our inadequacies, and that is why we eagerly read what the practitioners have to say.

The valley about which Lord Rennell writes is that of the Hindwell, a tributary of the Lugg, and the manors comprise a group of small valley settlements, one of which is his own home of Rodd. He considers the development of the manors, the settlements, and the principal landowners from pre-Conquest times until the seventeenth century, with a separate disquisition on some aspects of the ecclesiastical history of the valley. There is an immense amount of detailed information

about persons and places, and the photographic illustrations, most of them taken from the air, are excellent, apt, and give the reader a good impression of the country.

It must be said, however, that the book is disappointing to the agrarian historian, and this is because Lord Rennell does not follow up the promise that he makes at the beginning. The earlier part of the book consists of a detailed study of the pre-Conquest and Domesday topography. This is something that is worth doing for any area and can best be done by historians with Lord Rennell's local knowledge. Apart from the necessary identification of places and estates, this part contains an interesting discussion of Offa's Dyke in relation to the problem of early Anglo-Welsh relations. The greater part of the book however deals very little with agrarian matters, and very much with genealogies and manorial descents. While recognizing the large place that such studies have traditionally had in local histories, it must all the same be said that one had hoped that an author whose real interests are so obviously in the land and the people at work would have spent less space on this type of family history, whose appeal is bound to be very narrow.

The most interesting chapter in the book is that entitled 'Of Tracks and Fields', and this (about one-seventh of the whole) is really the only part in which the author does what we hope he can do better than the document-bound professional historian. In it he strips off the modern additions to the Hindwell landscape and reconstructs the medieval, even pre-medieval, road and field lay-out. Using his practical knowledge of the soil-pattern and land-use of the valley, he shows which pairs of fields were those which must have been the original nucleus of arable cultivation in all the old settlements, and which were the subsequent extensions. A comparison of the dimensions of these original fields is most suggestive, and Lord Rennell's method here might very profitably be used elsewhere.

In this important section the author puts many problems. It is to be regretted that he is unable, probably by the limitation of the evi-

dence, to relate agrarian practice to local social structure. The relation of demesne land to tenant land is hardly dealt with, still less agrarian custom, which in an area so close to Wales must surely have been worth studying. And with all respect to Lord Rennell's own expert knowledge, one wonders if the geographical characteristics of an area place quite such rigid and permanent restrictions on possible land-use as he suggests.

R. H. HILTON

B. C. REDWOOD and A. E. WILSON (eds.), *Custumals of the Sussex Manors of the Archbishop of Canterbury*. Sussex Record Society, Vol. LVII. 1958. xl+162 pp.

The manuscript of which a translated portion fills most of this volume is a good, late-medieval copy of a now-lost custumal and rental covering the greater part of the lands belonging to the medieval archbishopric of Canterbury. The inquisitions through which the rental was made were held on the estates between 1283 and 1285. Although most of the archbishopric lands were in Kent, numbers of the manors lay in Sussex. Of these there were two main groups: those in the west, near Bognor, included Pagham, Lavant, Tangmere, and Slindon; in the east, near Lewes, was the vast manor of South Malling with its members "within and without the wood." The portion of the document dealing with Pagham was privately printed in 1949 by Mr Lindsay Fleming in his *History of Pagham* (1, xxxi-lx). The remainder of the Sussex folios are published here, together with two Appendices, containing a rental of South Malling for 1305-6, and a sixteenth-century custumal of South Malling purporting to be derived from one confirmed in 1330.

Students of rural history, especially those interested in the south-east of England, will be grateful for the work which has here been done by the editors and their team of transcribers and translators from the Local History Seminar of Brighton Technical College. It is an important text, and the work has been on the whole well done. There are a few inconsistencies and slips in the text which

suggest a not quite perfect co-ordination between the translators: e.g., the translation of *tradita* on p. 117 departs from the norm, *aperto* is misread on p. 13, *metere* is translated as 'to sow' on p. 78, the translation of *caruca iuncta* as 'joint plough' on p. 26 is misleading, for it means a completely yoked plough in the possession of one tenant in distinction to the tenant who owned part of a team only. These small matters are mentioned to remind future scholars that the manuscript itself is accessible for consultation.

This deeply interesting document will repay the further work on it which is contemplated by more than one person. Tenurial analysis of the complete manuscript, and comparison with extant accounts and 'charter' material like the Lambeth MS. 1212, should help towards a much-needed understanding of south-eastern England in the middle ages. At the moment, three topics which the document illuminates will be singled out for the brief attention of present readers: demesne structure, tenurial structure, and forest customs.

The demesnes of the West Sussex manors are described in their parcels, and in the case of Tangmere and Lavant with the number of *londes* in each field of a given number of acres. (The Pagham demesne fields are described according to the number of acres and *sellones* in each.) Demesnes are not given on the East Sussex manors, but an account of the oxherds of Malling, who were in effect full-time *famuli* and used the lord's plough on their own pieces, says that the tenements of some of them "lay in the middle of the demesne." The productivity of this demesne could be reckoned from the Vacancy Rolls and ministers' accounts such as the fine archbishopric 'pipe roll' of 1273-4 (Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 29,794) where very many correspondences and amplifications of the present document are to be found.

The rental lists holders of knightly and free land, of unfree land, of cotland, and of various other kinds of holding, including fulling mills, together with their areal holdings, rents, and services. The continuance of assarting, es-

pecially in the woodlands, right up to the moment of the inquisition is notable. The classes of free and neif (*nativus* or *villanus*) seem in theory clear enough (pp. 90, 101), but their holdings are much confused. Numbers of those described in Mayfield as free tenants are a few pages further on called neifs; one of them, Robert le Rede, is called *liber natus*, which gives the clue to a third category or possibility. Neifs are also found in considerable numbers leasing land to freemen, and sometimes raising a mortgage upon their land, so that we look for the regular passage of money from free to unfree. Yet legal bondage on the Sussex manors continued far into the fifteenth century according to the acts of manumission found in archiepiscopal registers.

The woodlands of South Malling, and of Slindon away in the west, supported freemen and bondmen who alike were busy assarting, building on their portions, and commoning in a *boscagium* through which only the local inhabitants were certain of finding the way (p. 31). The custom of *danger* was paid at Slindon and Tarring and not only in Kent, and is correctly annotated by the editors, as against the interpretation of the late Professor Neilson. Some of the agrarian customs described as due from forest tenants appear commuted in the accounts of the time, but bond and free owed a variety of other services, not least to the organization of the archbishop's hunting.

The Introduction could only allude to a scattering of topics, but contains a few omissions and mis-statements which might have been remedied. Attention was called in print to the present document by Mary Holgate in *Sussex Archaeological Collections* LXVIII (1927). This Introduction is an improvement upon previous work in the field, but is markedly economical of acknowledgements. The Hayes alluded to on p. xxv is in Middlesex, where the archbishop had property, not in Kent. The inquisition of 1283-5 was based upon the written rolls, then extant, of a previous one conducted by Elias of Dereham, steward of the archbishop's lands in the second decade of

the thirteenth century, as is quite clear from certain portions of the Kentish text. It is questionable whether the estates of the See were grouped into bailiwicks until a few years after the date of the present rental, so it is not surprising that the West Sussex manors were treated as separate units, as the editors remark (p. xxxii). Of course, the *Ballive* headings could have been written in by the later copyist. Nor do I find receivers in existence on the estates until the very beginning of the fifteenth century (p. xxix); the most usual thirteenth-century recipient of the cash livery was the treasurer of the archbishop, direct from local ministers.

A random check on the index revealed the omission of Daniel, William, p. 10; Sweyne, William, p. 10, and page errors against Megwyk and Osselin. This unfortunately saps confidence in what should be an important part of such an edition. Used with care, however, this volume will be of great use to investigators, and deserves their thanks.

F. R. H. DU BOULAY

W. M. WILLIAMS, *The Country Craftsman: A Study of some Rural Crafts and the Rural Industries Organization in England*. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958. xviii + 214 pp. 25s.

Mr Williams's book appears as one of the Dartington Hall Studies in Rural Sociology. It is largely concerned with the small rural industries of Devon, with some comparative material from the west midlands. Devon has between 1,300 and 1,500 rural workshops, probably more than any other county in England, and about thirty different rural crafts. The "decline of the rural crafts" is a well-worn lament, but little is known even about the basic facts. How many rural craftsmen are there? How quickly are they decreasing in numbers? How many young men are entering rural industries annually?

Mr Williams begins by studying the work of the rural industries organization in general, and then proceeds to an analysis of the problems of a wide range of crafts in Devon and

three midland counties. The business problems of the craftsmen are examined, with much detailed reportage which the historian finds rather tedious and too long-drawn out; but it appears to be a fundamental part of modern sociology. Nevertheless, despite their present tedium, these conversations will have the same value and flavour in a hundred years' time, as a picture of rural life in the mid-twentieth century, as the minutes of evidence before the assistant poor law commissioners have for village life in the early 1830's. There are many remarkable potted biographies, illustrating the strength of the family and above all of the father in the family business, for which the historian several generations hence will be grateful.

The Country Craftsman is a valuable study as far as it goes, but again one misses the historical approach to the problem. The craftsman-farmer was an extremely interesting social type in England between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries, quite misunderstood by modern academic historians and regarded as "ekeing out a living" at two or three different trades because he could not make a success of one. This is pure nonsense. An economy which allowed a man to be proficient in several different trades is well worth serious study. Mr Williams evidently feels that the historical approach has something to offer, as he discusses some of his difficulties in this respect in an appendix; but a limited use of Kelly's *Directories* is not the way to set about it. No wonder he regarded his results as "disappointing." The census schedules of 1851 would have given him a complete picture of the rural craftsmen in the villages and parishes a hundred years ago, and enabled him to make some fruitful comparisons with the position today, and to answer some of the questions he asks on page 205. He would have had some very interesting distribution maps for saddlers, thatchers, and farriers in 1851 to put beside those for the 1950's in his book. One does not ask the sociologist to carry his historical researches far back—a hundred years or so is sufficient for most of his problems—but some historical depth is absolutely

necessary for a great range of sociological inquiry.

W. G. HOSKINS

DAVID GREEN, *Gardener to Queen Anne: Henry Wise and the Formal Garden*. Oxford University Press, 1956. xx+232 pp., illus. 70s.

This is a slightly ponderous book which sets out to tell the story of Henry Wise's career as gardener to Queen Anne and the gentry of the period. In fact, it goes further and gives a sketch of the rise and decline of the grand formal garden in England. True it is that Wise and his partner George London and their nurseries at Brompton Park (now the site of the South Kensington Museums) played no small part in this movement. But far from being a clear-cut biography it dashes all over the formal garden from parterre to *potager* and on to the great landscapes of William Kent and Capability Brown, stopping to digress on the way on the influence of Le Nôtre, John Evelyn, Pope, and Addison.

In other words, it is more than it sets out to be and as a result rather falls into the ha-ha. It is the work of an enthusiast, and, more than that, a green-fingered one who knows his subject well, but Mr Green is so bound up in his task that he often loses perspective and the narrative becomes more important than the subject. It is none the less a fascinating work.

Once the reader has become immersed in the mammoth activities of the partners at Brompton Park—of the continual stream of "Espalliers of Elms, jessamines, flaming maple of Virginia, Powdred Holly, Pyramid Sweedish junipers, cedars of Libanus, Quinces, Ffillbeards and Barberries," that poured out of Brompton to destinations all over the kingdom, or absorbed in Wise's removal of 403 thirty-year-old lime-trees for ten shillings each at Hampton Court or his "making ye Bason"—the four-hundred-foot pool for the fountain of Diana, which yielded Wise's diggers twenty-one thousand and five solid yards of earth, he will not readily put it down.

A considerable section of the book is concerned with Wise's great work for the Marlboroughs at Blenheim, and it is a salutary reminder of the transitoriness of the works of man that within a few years of Wise's death Lancelot Brown would obliterate most of Wise's works for ever.

Despite its faults the book is an enjoyable one which tells for the first time much of the story of the brief period of formal glory that our gardens enjoyed between the influence of Le Nôtre and the coming of the landscapers. It is difficult to know why the publishers have chosen to present it in so lavish and sumptuous a format and at a price which will be beyond the reach of most would-be readers.

J. W. Y. HIGGS

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W. G. HOSKINS

Contents

- | | |
|------------------------------|--|
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| II English Local Historians | VIII Fieldwork: The Landscape |
| III The Old Community | IX Fieldwork: Buildings |
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CONTENTS

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in the Eighteenth Century

By W. FERGUSON

La Pierre D'Escocce

By DOMINICA M. LEUGE

The Franco-Scottish and Franco-Norwegian Treaties of
1295

By RANALD NICHOLSON

REVIEWS

King James IV of Scotland

SHORT NOTICES

PERIODICAL NOTES

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1	3	2	8	
2	E	3	2	
3	2	3	5	
4	5	3	8	
5	E	8	5	
6	3	6	8	7